

**PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY POLICING: A SOCIAL
CONSTRUCTIVIST AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

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Abstract:

Community policing is one of the more significant recent developments in policing and the notion has been widely discussed and applied around the world. This thesis examines its various conceptions as discussed in the literature and in practice, with particular emphasis being given to the role of trust between police and citizens in this context.

The investigation adopts a constructivist and qualitative comparative analysis based in two countries: Mexico and the UK (with two case studies in each country) and with data primarily collected through interviews with samples of police and citizens. Key findings are that:

- The variety of conceptions about community policing highlight the complex nature of the notion and the many factors shaping its varied practices.
- Police assumptions as to what constitutes good practice in community policing and what success might look like, deserve to be re-examined.
- The social constructions that police and citizens hold about community policing provide valuable sources of insight which challenge some of the conventional understandings regarding policing priorities.

- Trust is a vital ingredient for successful community policing and needs to be based as much on the police trusting citizens and communities as the other way round.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Community policing is widely regarded as one of the more significant recent developments in policing around the world (Maguire and Wells, 2002 p. 33; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.1; Friedmann, 1992 p. 2). The concept has been widely discussed and applied in various countries and in a range of contexts, thus raising questions about what exactly it involves, what in particular is so attractive about it, and what difference has it made vis a vis other approaches to policing? Intriguingly, despite the widespread interest in the concept, it seems there is no clear agreement on its meaning and, as various scholars have indicated, it appears to be understood by different people in different ways and invokes both acclaim and criticism in roughly equal measures (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988; Manning 1988; Mastrofski, 1988; Klockars, 1988; Eck and Rosenbaum, 1994 p. 5; Trojanowicz et al, 2002). For these reasons, the investigation of the concept and practice of community policing has been a strong driver for this thesis.

Some scholars, such as Eck and Rosenbaum (1994 p. 5), have noted that there are so many different expectations about community policing that one could ask “if it is possible for community policing to deliver on all or even most of them”. In the search for clarifying its meaning, several authors have commented on the difficulty of defining both the terms ‘community’ and ‘policing’ (e.g. Lyons, 2002; Buerger, 1994; Waddington, 1999). Others have tried to identify common defining characteristics (Oliver, 2008; Goldstein, 1990), while others again have sought to highlight the contradictory elements (for example, Seagrave, 1996; Lyons, 2002). From the

perspective of the local practice, some scholars have pointed to the contradictory goals associating with the term in the perceptions of police and citizens respectively (see for example, Podolefsky, 1984; Winship and Berrien, 1999; Thacher, 2001a). While others have studied its practice in terms of similarities and differences of community policing from an international perspective (Bayley, 1994; Friedmann, 1992; Lab and Das, 2003). Community policing also seems to be flexible in its application, having been introduced in relatively stable and peaceful countries (e.g. Singapore, Japan, the USA and the UK) and also in some which are more characterised by strife and conflict (e.g. Israel, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan) (see for example, Singapore Police Force, 2010; Japanese Police Policy Research Centre, 2005; Weisburd et al, 2001; Coginta, 2010; UNPOL, 2010).

Various theories have been posited to account for the interest it has generated, and to understand its attraction as a model for policing around the world, but no consensus appears to have been reached on this (Bennett, 1994; Kelling and Moore, 1988; Klockars, 2005). Many authors have argued that the popularity of community policing rests on the idea that it is seen as an alternative to the shortcomings of what has come to be labelled as 'traditional policing' to deal with increases in crime and deteriorating relationships between the police and the communities they serve (Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Novak et al, 2002; Trojanowicz et al, 2002; Sparrow, 1988; Fielding, 1995; Rosenbaum, 1994). Many other authors have highlighted the importance of a lack of public confidence in the police as a key factor accounting for its roll-out (e.g. Bennett, 1994), although there has rarely been much clarity about the phrase 'public confidence' either, nor sufficient understanding of how it might vary between and within different

communities, however defined (see for example, Crawford, 1997 p. 161; Spalek, 2008 p. 95; Morgan and Newburn, 1997 pp. 162-163; Friedman, 1994 pp. 267-268). While noting that the term, and by implication, the model of community policing, has been adopted in many different countries, this thesis does not presume a single definition or concept in practice. Indeed, having examined different examples of how community policing has been conceived in different settings – both geographical and crime-contextual – it is apparent that community policing has been driven by various reasons, pursues several different objectives and its impact and success can be understood in a variety of ways.

The picture portrayed is thus one of considerable plurality and heterogeneity of viewpoint about community policing, and it is this state of affairs that provides the backcloth for this thesis. The review of existing literature suggests a number of key, but essentially unresolved, questions in community policing, most notably:

- 1) What is community policing expected to do – what are the goals attributed to it? and
- 2) Why might the concept be so ill-defined and diverse – why might it be seen in response to so many different problems?

In seeking answers to such questions, it becomes necessary to understand the phenomenon from different points of view. Following a long tradition of research which point out that the attitudes and perspectives of police officers are key influential factors in shaping community policing (see for example, Yates and Pillai, 1996), this research considers their views and experiences. While the research extensively involved gathering views of police officers on the subject, to provide insight on their perspectives,

it also involved examination of the perspectives of samples of citizens and a comparison of the two groups. Including citizens' perspectives in this way was considered particularly important given their centrality in some of the key principles of community policing – that of giving citizens more say in how policing is carried out and their role in the 'co-production' of community safety (see for example, Skogan and Hartnett, 1997 p.5; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.1; Fielding, 2005 p. 460). Moreover, the inclusion of citizens' perspective was also considered important because some of the research suggests that citizens' views are not always aligned with those of the police (see for example, Podolefsky, 1984; Winship and Berrien, 1999; Thacher, 2001a) and therefore their views could be critically compared with those of the police.

Again, in seeking answers to the questions above, and given the diversity of viewpoints, it also seemed important to take account of different geographical contexts and to consider what community policing might mean in different settings, whether defined by type of community, socio-economic characteristics, types or levels of crime (Rex et al, 1998). Given the arguments about the importance of context to an understanding of community policing, the research was designed as a comparative study (see Wrede, 2010 p. 89), particularly looking at contrasting settings. This, it was felt, would provide the best opportunity to capture the diversity and complexity of the concept in practice. As Bayley (1999 pp. 3-5) has argued, international comparisons among different and contrasting contexts is part of doing scientific enquiry in policing, and any assumptions of 'big' differences must not be readily interpreted as being impossible to unravel and converted into useful application. This research therefore compares and contrasts community policing (the concept, its objectives and its impacts) in different local

settings (defined in terms of crime rates and socio-economic circumstance) and in two contrasting countries – those of Mexico and the UK. Comparisons of this nature (i.e. of contrasting settings) have been conducted, inter alia, by Moore (1966) who argued that they can serve as a rough negative check on accepted explanations¹ about the phenomena under study, Bendix (2007 pp.16-17) who argued that they allow the researcher to define more sharply the particular characteristics of each context and Bayley (1999 p.6) who argued that they allow us to see factors in a specific setting that otherwise would be assumed to be unremarkable. Here, in fact, the most significant national differences between Mexico and the UK tend to refer to the extent and pattern of development of community policing, where and how they fit with the wider challenges of maintaining law and order and public security (which include responses to organised crime or terror crime, respectively), the level of violent crime (which include murders and other crimes involving weapons), and the nature of relationships between police and citizens (including the level of public trust in the police).

The UK can be considered as a useful example of community policing within the Western World (Pakes, 2004 p. 35). It has a long history of decentralised policing (there are 43 separate police forces serving the counties and regions of this geographically small, though in parts quite densely populated island), although in more recent times there has also been a strong centralising strand to policing policy, led particularly by the ‘parent’ government department – the Home Office, and buttressed by the policing profession itself through the various networks and associations for police chiefs and

¹ Comparisons of contrasting settings may place limits on assumed causal explanations and may also serve to review overly generalised theories. Comparisons of contrasting settings, however, do not aspire automatically to generate new explanations; rather they aim at giving a sharper description of the characteristics of the contexts (see Skocpol and Somers 1980 pp.181).

other senior and specialist officers. That said, official commitment to community policing is relatively recent, having first been formally embodied in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and more recently endorsed in the National Policing Pledge in 2008. It is noteworthy also that community policing in the UK enjoys a high level of public trust (around 70% according to the World Values Survey 2005-2008), and that it is a country in which serious crime rates have generally been considered to be low. For example, in 2009 the police recorded the lowest level of murders in the last 20 years (see Walker, 2009 p.6).

Mexico, has also adopted community policing in some of its states in recent times, and it too has a history of decentralised police structures (albeit this decentralisation in policing is shaped by the organisation of the country as a federation comprised by 32 federative entities). However, this is a country in the midst of a worsening security crisis and with an endemic and widespread problem of serious and organized crime (see Shirk, 2011). The majority of Mexicans have little confidence in the police (only around 30% are confident in the police according to the World Values Survey 2005-2008), and fear of victimisation or mistreatment by the police is widespread (almost 30% according to the ENVEI-2009 survey) (see CIDE, 2010 p. 36). In 2010 the number of recorded homicides was the highest ever in its modern history (more than 15,000 deaths and mostly attributed directly to organised crime, according to the Federal Government, 2010).

Despite such contrasts, the UK and Mexico also offer some similarities. Both have democratic governments, one key aspect of which, as Dryzek and List (2003 p.1) state,

is “the capacity of those affected by a collective decision to deliberate in the production of that decision”. And this, of course, is an issue of considerable potential relevance to the concept of community policing. In both countries too, a deeply rooted perception and expectation among the population is of people having their say, and being listened to by governments as to how public services are provided (43% in Great Britain and 31% in Mexico, according to the World Values Survey 2005-2008). Also, in both countries, considerable emphasis has been given by the public to the importance of maintenance of law and order (this is the most important priority for some 32% in Great Britain and 29% in Mexico, according to the World Values Survey 2005-2008). At the same time, however, in both countries, confidence in the criminal justice system is not particularly high. In the UK, the 2009/10 British Crime Survey showed that 59.4% of people thought that the criminal justice system was, as a whole, fair but only 41% thought it effective (Flatley, 2010 p.109); in Mexico, the ENVEI-2009 survey reported that, on a scale from 0 to 10, the confidence of the people in criminal justice as a whole was 3.77 (CIDE, 2010 p.63).

Given that there can be many national and local factors to consider and that the perspectives of the citizens and police may play an important role in the practice of community policing, this thesis adopts social constructivism as its epistemological² position. For the purposes of the research, social constructivism is understood to be an approach to knowledge that does not start from a single concept about the phenomenon under study; it is interested in this study, in how police and citizens see reality in terms of policing, how they build up their conceptions of safety and order (see Miller and Fox,

² Epistemology is a philosophical inquiry into the nature of knowledge, what justifies a belief, and what we mean when we say that a claim is ‘true’ (Alcoff, 2003 p. viii).

1999 p. 55). Social constructivism offers a way to define, understand and analyse community policing that is distinct from other perspectives which *impose* definitions and other forms of understanding to the social phenomenon studied. The advantage of social constructivism is that it draws attention to several understandings which expose the questionable endeavour of looking for one single definition or one best practice. Considering a range of perspectives of police and citizens (and focusing closely on the particular words and phrases used) will help to unravel the complex nature of community policing and will help to expose what uni-dimensional or dominant views may seek to define as best practice (see for example, Schneider, 1985 p.214). Carrying out a comparative research from a social constructivist perspective also helps to tie the concept of community policing to the local aspects that matter most to police and citizens, and even to the larger contexts such as the national perspective. Careful consideration of the context helps to avoid over-simplified conclusions where findings related to the interviews alone could potentially lead to inappropriate generalisations (see for example, Miller and Fox, 1999 p. 57).

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is organised in seven chapters. This first one has sought to provide an overarching account of the rationale for the study and to introduce some of the key issues for consideration. The second chapter provides a fuller review of relevant literature to underpin the empirical study and to provide a synthesis of insights from previous research on the following background questions:

- What is community policing - and how does it differ from other key approaches of policing?,
- What have been the key drivers in recent years for its development and application? and
- How important as a driver has trust been in the conception of community policing?

Accordingly, it considers the various contributions made to date in trying to understand definitions of community policing from different theoretical viewpoints and also reflecting on such different perspectives to consider why community policing has so often been favourably viewed and adopted. The chapter also examines key implications of the multiple meanings of the term and how these have shaped the goals that have been pursued under its banner. And it identifies from the literature the key drivers towards closer interaction between citizens and police, and how this has been just one expression of a wider trend and preoccupation in public services in linking citizen and state more closely together. The chapter ends by summarising the main elements of similarity and difference between community policing in Mexico and in the United Kingdom based on the available literature on these two countries.

Chapter 3 provides a summary of the methodology which has been used in this study and it is organised in three main sections. The first one describes the chosen epistemological position of the research, namely social constructivism, setting out the rationale and underpinning logic behind the chosen qualitative-comparative approach and of a case study design. The second section presents the key research questions that

have formed the main focus of the empirical investigation, while the third discusses the research design, including the particular case studies, the methods of data collection and analysis used. The chapter also presents further details on the comparative approach adopted and on how the contrasting local contexts have been conceived and analysed. Brief details are also provided on the different locations within Mexico (Federal District and Centre of State of Mexico) and in the UK (South Birmingham and South Worcester) in which fieldwork was undertaken.

The fourth chapter addresses two of the key research questions of this research:

- How do police and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing? and
- How do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?

The chapter describes a range of differing expectations as to the purposes of community policing, and particularly between different geographical and socio-criminological contexts.

The fifth chapter then takes this analysis one stage further by addressing the following research question:

- To what extent is there alignment in understanding of community policing between citizens and police?

Here again, the position in the contrasting contexts are analysed and the implications of the alignment of views between police and citizens are considered with regard to the effect on their relationship.

In chapter six, attention shifts to consider the impacts of community policing and the lessons learned for its practice in different settings. Here the final key research question which is addressed is:

- How do police and citizens regard the impacts of community policing?

Then the final chapter summarizes the key findings of the research as a whole, assesses their significance and implications and provides a reflective analysis of extent and limitations of the project and of the contribution which it makes to a further understanding of the practice and potential of community policing in different contexts.

As indicated, the next chapter provides a fuller literature review to underpin the empirical research for this thesis and it is to this that we now turn.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: MEANINGS, DRIVERS AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY POLICING

Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the relevant literature that underpins this study. As argued in the previous chapter, the concept of community policing, its drivers and purposes can be considered as key unresolved issues in the literature. In this sense, three background questions have guided this literature review chapter – these being:

1. What is community policing - and how does it differ from other key approaches of policing?
2. What have been the key drivers in recent years for the development and application of community policing, and
3. How important as a driver has trust been in the conception of community policing?

As already suggested, this thesis starts from the argument that the meaning of community policing is rooted in particular contexts (see Hinds et al, 1992). Key elements of those contexts are the people who interpret and rationalise what community policing means. Collin (1997 pp. 103-116) has argued that meanings of the concepts reflect the goals that each individual anticipates and seeks to realise. Similarly, Adler (1997) has suggested that collective understandings or shared meanings provide people with reasons why things are as they are, and indications of how they should behave. In

this sense, looking at the meaning(s) of community policing is to look at propositions that help to explain, for example, why it is seen in certain lights, as fulfilling certain purposes and is driven by certain circumstances and needs. To understand the particularities of those propositions, community policing should also be examined in relation to other models of, or approaches in, policing.

The literature review summarised in this chapter illustrates how community policing has been understood from various perspectives, and particularly regarding its various objectives and drivers. The chapter is divided into two broad sections. The first focuses on contributions to the question what community policing is and examines its main characteristics as defined by different authors on the subject. This section also considers different notions of community policing from different theoretical perspectives, highlighting, *inter alia*, different positions on why it might have been adopted (including trust as a driver) and the possible implications of its multiple meanings – some philosophical and others essentially practical in nature. In addition, the concept is examined from the perspective of what the literature suggests it is not.

Finally, once again drawing on the published literature, the second section of the chapter introduces some of the contrasting characteristics of community policing in the states of Mexico and the United Kingdom, which respectively provide the settings for the empirical work for this thesis.

2.1. WHAT IS COMMUNITY POLICING?

The wide interest on community policing has been accompanied by critical discussion on its diversity of meanings (see Eck and Rosenbaum, 1994 p. 5; Manning, 1988; Mastrofski, 1988; Klockars, 1988). The lack of a clear definition of community policing, may have much to do with the different theoretical and practical levels in which it has been implemented, while some define it by purpose and functions, others define it by structure and programs, and others again as a philosophy (Wong, 2001 p.8). As Edwards (1999, p. 76) has argued, it is not uncommon for police services to label almost any non-reactive police strategy as a community policing initiative.

Some scholars have argued that the lack of consensus about the term of community policing reflects difficulties in clarifying what the respective terms ‘community’ and ‘policing’ themselves might mean. Newby (1980) has observed that each definition of community highlights a different component to the detriment of others. He himself has categorised community in terms of three distinct notions. First, he suggested community might be viewed as a fixed and bounded locality as denoting a human settlement located within a particular geographical area. This notion is thus all about community as ‘place’, and as such, says little about the nature of interaction among its members. In some contrast, in Newby’s second notion the emphasis is on community as a local social system that comprises a set of social relationships within (or at least mostly within) a locality. Here, his categorisation implies that a community exists when a network of inter-relationships is established between those living in the same locality, although again, it says little about the content of those relationships. Third, Newby (1980) has

categorised community as ‘a communion’ implying a sense of identity or commonality among a group of people, in this instance with no particular reference to geographical proximity. The complexity of definitions of the term community brings problems about the role it plays in the context of shaping the policing agenda. When the term community is associated to the concept of engagement (see Barnes and Prior, 2009), there are important considerations for policing. For example, the natural differences among communities (i.e. by socioeconomic status or ethnicity) suggest that considering the geographical area as the main definitional characteristic of a community may be narrow as this does not necessary appeal to other common aspects within a community. More concretely, it raises concerns about their capacity and purposes of engagement to improve safety if there is lack of common values among residents within a given area (see for example, Sampson and Groves, 1989). This is topic of heated debate, as some scholars argue, the term ‘community’ in community policing should refer to the most compelling shared interests (see for example, Fielding, 1995 p. 12). Indeed, Fielding has argued that doing otherwise would mean for the police to start engineering the groups they regard as suitable to represent the community (1995 p.12). According to him, unless the police want representation of the deviant, the marginal and the dispossessed, they should look for the shared interests of the community (Fielding, 1995 p.12).

Similar issues which arise when the term community is associated with the concept of engagement include the fact that it raises questions about representativeness (Martin, 2007 p. 11). Crawford (1997) has warned that if the term ‘community’ is conceived as an entity of shared interests, this might overlook intra-community conflicts by marginalising those individuals whose voicing dissent (Crawford, 1997 p. 161). Also

elaborating on the issue of conceiving the concept of community as a homogeneous entity, Spalek (2008 p. 95) has pointed out that, in the UK, attempts to engage British Muslim communities by focusing largely on community leaders, risks ignoring the fact that these are often middle-aged – or older – citizens who have little understanding of the viewpoints and perspectives of younger members of the community. In a similar vein, Rowe (2004) has argued that, if the community comprises only community leaders, they are often, and quite paradoxically, likely to be out of touch with those on whose behalf they are supposed to be speaking. Furthermore, when referring to crime, the ambiguity over what constitutes ‘community’ is illustrated in the struggle for the police in balancing their own sense of responsibility for crime control and safety with a concern to involve residents and other local agencies, each with their own particular agendas and perspectives about priorities and the directions that policies should take (Edwards and Hughes 2002).

Shapland’s (2008) notion of community seeks to relate the community and two different ways of dealing with crime from a comparative perspective. She has observed that, in countries such as the UK, the term community is more readily linked with mechanisms of governance to address social problems, such as crime and anti-social behaviour, while in other countries, the notion is taken to suggest separateness, even to the extent of residents setting themselves apart and thinking themselves as a jurisdiction in their own right (Shapland, 2008). This, for example, is rather the case for some communities in the State of Oaxaca in Mexico (see Rowland, 2006), where there is generally low acceptance of the police and a preference for dealing with law and order problems themselves.

The discussion about the concept of community as to whether it needs to be associated with shared interests or not or whether it needs to be considered only in the light of government programs (e.g. crime reduction and safety) has led to the understanding that the term is nothing short of problematical from a definitional perspective. But so too is the term 'policing'. Here, there are quite as many difficulties in tying down what is meant and a myriad of viewpoints and perspectives to consider. Part of the difficulty here is that "(p)olicing is done by many agencies, only one of which ... is the police" (Manning, 2002 p. 9). It is unrealistic to define and characterise policing in terms of law enforcement, because there are a number of other agencies also involved in such enforcement work. Indeed, Waddington (1999 pp. 1-3) has argued that law enforcement is neither what the police principally do nor what the public particularly ask the police to do. He goes on to suggest that policing might instead be understood as 'the exercise of the authority of the state over the civil population ... the indeterminable scope of the police role arises from the exercise of authority; they intervene in any situation where someone in authority is required to take charge' (Waddington, 1999 p. 30). In a more traditional view, policing can be seen as referring to "organized order maintenance, peace keeping, rule or law enforcement, crime investigation and prevention, and other forms of investigation and associated information-brokering, which may involve the conscious exercise of power..." (Newburn and Neyroud, 2008 p. 217). Indeed, some of the more narrow conceptions about policing may be reflected in the popular belief that policing is the solution to the crime problem (Loader, 1997). However, other conceptions of policing point to the relationship between the police and the public in a legitimate way. Such is the case with the term 'policing by consent' which is closely

associated with policing in the UK. 'Policing by consent' is the active construction of public consent by the police to carry out their functions (Loader, 1997; Wakefield and Fleming, 2009 p.52; Villiers, 2009 p.29).

From a more symbolical perspective, the notion of policing may provide a constant reminder of the existence of the undesirable, criminal 'Other' (Loader, 1997 p.8). Paradoxically, policing is also a symbol of order, authority and protection; it makes it possible for people to believe that a powerful force for good stands between them and an anarchic world (idem). In the context of community policing, policing may perhaps be understood as "all explicit efforts to create visible agents of crime control..." (Bayley and Shearing, 1996 p. 586). The visibility of policing has arguably become central to how people think about police work; one illustration of this being apparent in the findings of a survey conducted by Page et al (2004 p.1). Here, when asked what it would take to convince respondents that crime was being dealt with more effectively, the most frequent answer given was "an increased police presence".

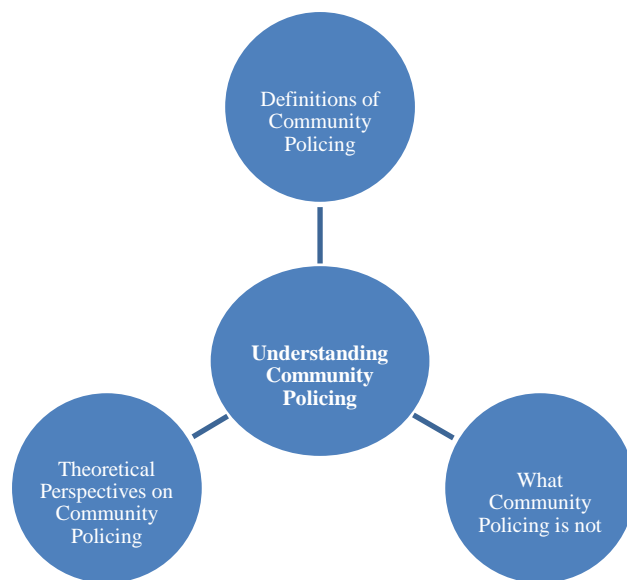
As described, definitions of community policing are complex and dynamic reflecting the various contexts (i.e. philosophy or operational) in which it operates, and the double definitional challenge of its constituent components: 'community' and 'policing'. It is clear that any effort to define community policing as referring to a homogeneous 'community' or homogeneous 'policing' will fail to capture its multifaceted meaning. But other relevant efforts to articulate notions of community policing can be explored using three different angles: a) definitions based on its main characteristics, b) conceptions based on differential characteristics with other approaches in policing and

c) distinctions between what it is and what it is sometimes considered to be, and what, arguably, it is not (Figure 1).

Figure 1 illustrates those angles. The first one identifies different definitions and meanings of community policing from the literature. The starting point here is to look at meanings based on what various scholars have considered to be its primordial characteristics. The second angle involves consideration of different theoretical perspectives on the subject of community policing, while the third seeks understanding by examining and clarifying what community policing arguably is not.

Figure 1

Angles from which to look at the theoretical meaning of community policing



2.1.1. Definitions of community policing

As indicated, various scholars have sought to define community policing, many of them focusing particularly on what might be considered primary characteristics. In writing about such characteristics, it should be said, different authors have had somewhat different purposes from that of this study and this explains their focus on some such characteristics but relative neglect of others. The purpose in this section of the thesis, then, is to provide examples of how community policing has been defined and to highlight the pluralism of its components, rather than to present a definitive or comprehensive account of each of them. The following are some of the definitions posited in the literature on community policing:

1) Community Policing as a Metaphor for Personalisation of Policing Service: Manning (1984 p. 206) suggested that “(c)ommunity policing can be seen as a metaphor based on yearning and the wish for personalization of service which contrasts with bureaucratic-professional policing”. He considered community policing in Great Britain and USA to fit well with this general definition and later in his article he developed a fuller analysis of the term.

2) Community Policing as an Organisational Strategy for Policing: Skogan and Hartnett (1997 p.5) defined community policing as “an organisational strategy that redefines the goals of policing, but leaves the means of achieving them to practitioners in the field. It assumes a commitment to broadly focused, problem-oriented policing and requires that police be responsive to citizens’ demands when they decide what local problems are and

set their priorities”. This definition, presented in the introduction to their book, suggested that community policing involves a reform to decision-making processes and the creation of a new culture within police departments. It also suggested change towards greater responsiveness towards citizens’ demands and re-prioritisation of what are considered to be the key local problems.

3) Community Policing as a Policy: Friedmann (1992 p. 4) offered a comprehensive definition by proposing that “(c)ommunity policing is a policy... aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of life, improved police services and police legitimacy, through a proactive reliance on community resources that seeks to change crime causing conditions. This assumes a need for greater accountability of police, greater public share in decision making, and greater concern for civil rights and liberties”. This definition was crafted as a result of considering numerous elements of community policing and enlisting those felt to be the key ones. It was an attempt, then, at an all-encompassing definition.

4) Community Policing as Police and Community Together: Skolnick and Bayley (1988 p.1) have argued that community policing is grounded in the notion that “together, police and public are more effective and more humane co-producers of safety and public order than are the police alone”. In their article, they claimed that extensive research in USA, Europe, Asia and Australia pointed to community policing being both a coherent concept and a rather predictable response to perceptions of rising crime and

fear of crime. Variations in the detailed nature of community policing in different areas, they suggested are due to budget constraints and other practical obstacles.

5) Community Policing as a 'Style' of Policing: Fielding (2005 p. 460) has described community policing as a "style of policing in which the police are close to the public, know their concerns from regular everyday contacts, and act on them in accord with the community's wishes". He has argued that, although the concept of community policing displays a chameleon-like character with several forms, it can also be understood broadly as an entity and ideal type.

6) Community Policing as a Decentralised Approach to Problem-Solving through Partnership: According to Merrit and Dingwall (2010 p. 389) three defining characteristics of community policing can be identified: a) police-community partnerships, b) a problem-solving approach, and c) organisational decentralisation and local accountability. In their article, they proceed from this categorisation particularly to examine and contextualise the operation of community policing in rural areas, arguing that some notions of community policing, while perhaps suitable for urban areas are quite unsuited for rural areas.

Taken together, such diverse definitions of community policing particularly underline the significance of police and citizens in closer relation to one another, and this, it might be argued, would reflect the wish for a more personalised form of policing service (Manning, 1984 p. 206); with the police expected to be responsive to citizens' demands (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997 p.5); to achieve more effective and efficient performance in

crime control, in reducing fear of crime, improving quality of life for local residents, and in strengthening police legitimacy and public confidence (Friedmann, 1992 p. 4); because the police and public together can be more effective co-producers of safety and public order than the police on their own (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.1); because the police will better understand and address citizens' concerns as a result of their regular everyday contacts (Fielding, 2005 p. 460), or as Merrit and Dingwall (2010 p. 389) have argued, because of an assumption (which they challenge) that community policing as a model can be universally applied and be expected to work ubiquitously.

The variety of conceptions of community policing captured in these definitions also emphasises its relative, rather than absolute, nature. Indeed, relativism and pluralism are vital traits of any understanding of the term community policing. Relativism, according to Guba (1990 p. 26), implies an attitude of "openness and the continuing search for ever more informed and sophisticated constructions". By the same logic, it could be argued that the diverse conceptions help to ensure a more comprehensive and sophisticated understanding of community policing. But relativism in the meaning of community policing is easily overlooked or understated. In the argument of Skolnick and Bayley (1988) for example, reference is made to the coherence of the term at a theoretical level. Likewise, Eck and Rosenbaum (1994 p. 5) bemoan the lack of consensus on definition, while Wong (2000 p.8) expresses concern that multiple interpretations of community policing might indicate confusion with its (real) meaning.

In the following section, then, the aim is to seek to locate community policing within various classifications and to relate it to different theoretical constructs. For example,

community policing has been variously discussed as representing something akin to a scientific revolution, as heralding a new era in policing, as a fresh model, and indeed as amounting to ‘circumlocutions’ (Klockars, 2005) for the way it subverts and conceals policing contradictions and dilemmas.

2.1.2. Theoretical perspectives on community policing

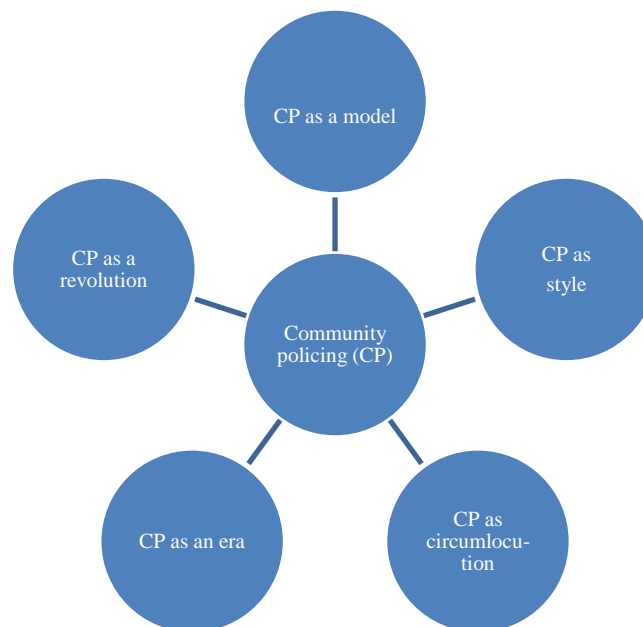
A further way to explore and understand better the meaning of community policing is by looking at key classifications. In this respect, the relationships between community policing and other theoretical constructs can help to analyse community policing in contrasting ways. Five such ways are highlighted in a comparative framework in the Figure 2.

As can be seen in the Figure 2, the versatility of the meaning of community policing becomes particularly apparent. One view has conceived it as a ‘model’, in which it represents a freshly framed response to the limits and disadvantages of another - the traditional model of policing (for example, Novak et al, 2002; Trojanowicz et al, 2002; Sparrow, 1988; Fielding, 1995; Rosenbaum, 1994). Another, however, has conceived community policing rather more grandly, as amounting to a ‘revolution’, and akin to a break-through in science that challenges the established assumptions and practices; something that is to be viewed as innovative and to be seen in a new light (Oliver and Bartgis, 1998). A third view has seen the advent of community policing as representing a new ‘era’ or period in the history and development of policing, and as such, perhaps time specific in its attraction and popularity (Kelling and Moore, 1988). A fourth view,

as indicated, has regarded community policing as a ‘circumlocution’; as an attempt to mask and avoid some of the key contradictions concerning policing and policing behaviour (Klockars, 2005). Then, fifthly, another view has conceived community policing simply as one ‘style’ of policing, which does not require big organisational or philosophical changes in the police (Pakes, 2004).

Figure 2

Five theoretical perspectives on community policing (CP)



2.1.2.1. Community policing as a ‘revolution’

Oliver and Bartgis (1998) in particular have argued that community policing represents a ‘revolution’ or a paradigm shift; one that deserves the sponsoring of new research and fresh theory development. According to Oliver and Bartgis, (1998) Kuhn (1970) first articulated his notion of a paradigm based on a historical review of scientific discovery. They suggest that Kuhn’s notion is relevant to community policing because of the significant shift in the way it made us think about policing. More particularly, they

suggested that “(t)he concept of community policing is itself a paradigm, not in the one large scale theory sense, but rather as an evolving mix of theories that describe enhanced methods for delivering police services” (Oliver and Bartgis, 1998 p. 493). They also asserted that the theoretical revolution underpinning community policing built on two key publications: ‘*Improving policing: a problem-oriented approach*’ by Goldstein (1979) and ‘*Broken Windows: The Police and Neighbourhood Safety*’ by Wilson and Kelling (1982).

Each of those two publications contributed in significant ways to the emergence of community policing. Goldstein (1979) focused on improving policing based on the idea that the police should concentrate on the problems. His critique was that professionalism in police forces had created a particularly strong focus on internal resourcing issues (staffing, management and structural organisation) which was based on a questionable assumption that, by making improvements in these respects, the police would be able to deal more effectively with crime. However, rather than a focus on the ‘means’, Goldstein has argued that police should focus on ‘ends’, which would require the police to identify “the problems that the public expects them to handle” (Goldstein, 1979 p. 236) and focus more on those. This was what Goldstein (1990) referred to as ‘problem-oriented policing’ and which represented a significant redefinition of the role and purposes of policing as a new ‘professional model’. As Ponsares (2001) has suggested, in problem oriented policing, police officers would expect to analyse patterns in the calls for service to see if they revealed underlying problems. Problem-oriented policing aimed to focus police attention on the problems underlying the various reported incidents, and as such, could be seen as providing some

of the underpinning purposes and processes of community policing, albeit without necessarily implying a working partnership between police and communities to address the particular problems (Moore, 1992).

In a similar vein, Wilson and Kelling (1982 p 10) criticised the tendency for debate about policing to be dominated by consideration of methods for fighting crime and responding to incidents. They argued that, just as a physician recognizes the importance of fostering health rather than simply treating illness, so the police (and the citizens) ought to recognize the importance alongside 'response to crime' of efforts aimed at its 'prevention'. At the same time, they emphasised the importance of responding to all reports, however seemingly trivial to police eyes (e.g. incidents of social disorder and physical disorder or neighbourly nuisance that might not indeed amount to criminal behaviour in the legal sense), their argument being that minor incidents often had the potential to escalate into more serious crime. They argued particularly that failure on the part of the police to attend to neighbourhood disorder could signal to people that nobody cared and, consequently, could encourage development into more serious disorder and crime. They also emphasised that neighbourhood disorder (e.g. drunks or broken windows in a building) created citizen fear and that this was all too easily overlooked as a source of fear. As a consequence, they argued, police should patrol on foot rather than in cars to be more approachable for citizens to reduce their fear of crime – recognising that car patrols created a barrier and prevented citizens the opportunities to communicate their concerns and the police from providing a more personable form of assistance and response to situations on the street.

2.1.2.2. Community policing as a ‘model’

A second theoretical perspective on community policing is as a ‘model’ of policing. Ponsares (2001 p. 471) has argued in this terms and suggested that its philosophy implies distinctive objectives and purposes in policing. In this respect, he and other scholars have contrasted the community policing model with another one which they have labelled as the ‘professional’ or ‘traditional’ policing model (see for example, Novak et al, 2002; Trojanowicz et al, 2002; Sparrow, 1988; Fielding, 1995; Rosenbaum, 1994). Novak et al (2003 p. 57) have particularly argued that “community policing represents a shift from the professional model of policing (where the primary focus was crime control and administrative control of individuals within the police organisation) to a model that emphasizes a partnership between police and citizens”. Likewise, Trojanowicz et al (2002) have conceived community policing as a model that turns traditional policing on its head by empowering the community rather than being dictated to (by the police). For Trojanowicz et al (2002 p.19) community policing and professional policing represent two strongly contrasting models in the contemporary context and can be distinguished from one another in respect of seven core ideas, which are shown in Table 1:

Table 1

Traditional policing and Community policing compared: Trojanowicz et al (2002)

	The Traditional Policing Model	The Community Policing Model
1	Specialist function based primarily on crime fighting	Broader police function (i.e. addressing fear or crime, order maintenance and community health)
2	One way communication with citizens with no focus on citizens' needs	Two way communication with citizens in order to collect information about their crime problems and effectiveness of the police
3	Policing by remaining aloof and detached from citizens	Working together with the citizens
4	'Getting the facts' of crime by attempting to impose their authority on citizens	Developing trust to promote cooperation on the part of citizens
5	Setting police agenda alone	Sharing power with citizens to set agenda
6	Limited repertoire of enforcement-based tactics	Allowing creativity to address a range of problems
7	Policing every situation and neighbourhoods in the same way, according to law without using discretion	Recognising that each community or neighbourhood has its own set of problems and expectations

They view the professional model of policing as having a particularly strong focus on crime fighting and law enforcement. Interaction with citizens, they have argued, would be primarily to 'get the facts' about a crime from witnesses who would have a necessary, but essentially adjunct role (Trojanowicz et al, 2002 p. 7). Indeed, Rosenbaum (1994 p. 49) went further and suggested that professional policing "actively discouraged any community participation in order maintenance and problem-solving in their own neighbourhoods". This, he suggested, related to the tendency of the police to present themselves as *the crime fighters*. Moreover, the professional model plays to the perception of the police as a national law enforcement agency with relatively little

emphasis on force-level distinctiveness or more bespoke policing styles and approaches for different force areas, let alone for individual neighbourhoods and communities (e.g. a standard-looking police uniform for forces across the UK). As Trojanowicz et al (2002 p. 10) has pointed out, the advent of community policing has gone some way to challenge such uniformity. Indeed, Trojanowicz et al (2002 p. 10) have also highlighted research showing that the majority of police activities are in fact of a non-crime nature such as responding to complaints of anti-social behaviour or providing diverse forms of assistance to members of the public (see for example, Bayley, 1996).

Similarly, Sparrow (1988 pp. 8-9) has also drawn a comparison between ‘traditional policing’ and community policing in his analysis of contrasting aspects of policing, four key elements of which reproduced in Table 2:

Table 2
Traditional policing and Community policing compared:
additional aspects (Sparrow, 1988)

	The Traditional Model	The Community Policing Model
1	Efficiency measured by detection and arrests rates	Efficiency detected by absence of crime and disorder
2	Effectiveness indicated by response times to citizens’ calls	Effectiveness determined by public cooperation
3	Dealing with citizens’ calls for ‘other services’ only if there is no ‘real’ police work to do	Dealing with them as a vital function and great opportunity to get closer with citizens
4	Accountability to law and to the rules and regulations of a highly centralized organisation	Accountability to community in respect to their needs

Sparrow (1988 pp. 1-2) also suggested that community policing, as a model, had its own distinct vision and purpose, striving to make neighbourhoods free of crime and disorder and places in which the resident communities would be active partners with the police in promoting and sustaining safety and security for all; indeed, with the assessment of police performance being based primarily on the attainment of public cooperation in pursuit of such goals. This would contrast starkly with the traditional model of policing where the key measures of success would more likely be detection and arrests rates, and response times to reports of incidents of crime.

Another scholar who has distinguished community policing from a traditional policing model is Fielding (1995), who similarly sought to identify its various characteristics; a number of which replicated themes highlighted by other authors but including two additional ones as shown in the following table:

Table 3
Traditional and Community Policing Model compared:
additional aspects (Fielding, 1995)

	The Traditional Policing Model	The Community Policing Model
1	The police is <i>the</i> professional crime fighting	The police is one of several agencies addressing crime and social problems that impact on crime
2	The police must be apolitical with fiscal accountability only	The police is accountable to community and political representatives being responsive through policy

Community policing, according to Fielding (1995 p.198) represents a shift from the near monopolistic responsibility for crime fighting to police being just one among several agencies involved in the maintenance of law and order. He also asserted that accountability in community policing is not only to the community but also to political representatives. For Fielding (1995), community policing would be all about responsiveness to the demands of the community and to political representatives through policy implementation. In this sense he has argued that, in the community policing model, “the police are an agency of local government and the community” (Fielding, 1995, p. 51).

Being responsive to both, local politicians (local government) and the community is, he has suggested, intrinsic to community policing, and what makes the police in the UK ‘political’. “By their handling of public events, their responsiveness to sectional community interests, party politics, local authority police committees, and the Home Office, the police play a role that is inescapably and fundamentally political” (Fielding, 1996 p. 54). This point is of importance in a comparative perspective because, as Kelling and Moore (1988) have suggested, one of the key strengths assumed for the professional policing model has been its supposed political neutrality – something which found favour in large part as a response to the experience in a previous era when politics had a stronger influence on policing (notably in the USA).

2.1.2.3. Community policing as an ‘era’

A third theoretical perspective on community policing has seen it as an ‘era’ in the on-going development of policing (Kelling and Moore, 1988). These authors posited that American policing history could be divided into three eras: political, reform and community policing³. The political era ran, they suggested, from the development of policing in the 1840s at least until the early 1900s, the reform era held sway from around the first world war until the 1970s, since which time, community policing has come to dominate. Kelling and Moore (1988 p. 2) also argued that, while there had been no absolutely clear time distinctions between the three eras and while elements of each have remained present in the policing model of the time, it has not been difficult to recognise a dominant perspective or one that has been ‘more powerful’, and ‘more widely shared’ at certain times (Kelling and Moore, 1988 p. 2). Table 4 summarises the eras and the main characteristics of each, as proposed by Kelling and Moore (1988):

³ Although this classification of the eras in policing (political, reform and community policing) refers to the American context, the influence of politics in policing is a major factor that can be considered to be present virtually everywhere (Newburn and Sparks, 2009) and so is the tendency to reform the police according to professional standards as noted by Kelling and Moore (1988). In relation to the influence of politics in policing this has been a relevant factor in the UK as illustrated by the *New Approach to Fighting Crime* which highlights, among other aspects, that the role of the police should be to cut crime and the causes of crime (see Home Secretary, 2011). In relation to what may be seen as part of a reform era in Mexico, a prominent indicator of this is the recent approval of the *General Law of National System of Public Security*, where the article 85 highlights the professional standards that police will be subjected to (see Chamber of Deputies, 2010).

Table 4

Eras of policing (after Kelling and Moore, 1988)

	Political	Reform (professional)	Community policing
Source of legitimacy and power	Local political leaders and law as to what tasks to undertake	Law and police professionalism (strong focus on civil service)	Law as the major source but also community and political support
Organisational structure	Mix of centralisation and decentralisation	Centralised	Decentralisation to attend to local needs.
Performance basis	Associated to crime and riot control, order maintenance, and relief from other problems such as hunger and temporary homelessness	Crime control and criminal apprehension, using for example a system of crime classification and reporting	Multiple aspects such as problem solving, public fear, social order crime control and citizen satisfaction with police services
Role of citizen	Active in demanding police services and broad social services	Passive as they relied on the professional knowledge of the police	Active to demand and get involved in police services
Relationship police-citizens	Close	Distant and neutral as police was an impartial law enforcer	Close relationship, familiarity between police and citizens
Programs or tactics	Primarily foot patrol to dealt with crime, disorder and other problems as they arose, or as they were guided by citizens and precinct superiors	Primarily preventive car patrol to deter crime and rapid response to calls for service	Assignment of police officers to beats, problem-solving, police knocking on doors, consultations and crime prevention meetings with community
Accountability	To politicians and citizens	To internal hierarchy	To community, law and professionalism

The political era, according to Kelling and Moore (1998) was characterised by close ties between police and the political and ruling elite. The scope of policing in this era was broad – addressing not only crime control and the maintenance of law and order but other problems as well such as homelessness and destitution. In the political era, the role of the citizens was generally active in terms of demanding police services and other public services. Kelling and Moore (1988 p3) also argued that strong political influence in policing was underpinned by patronage and police interference in elections in USA policing in the late 19th century. These authors described the relationship between police and politicians as reciprocal; while politicians recruited and maintained police in office and on the beat, police in turn, helped community leaders to maintain their political offices by encouraging citizens to vote for certain candidates.

The professional era, in contrast, was influenced by the classical theory of administration advocated by Frederick W. Taylor. Under this influence, strong emphasis was given to specialisation, routinisation and standardisation of functions. Reformers of the police rejected politics as the basis of police legitimacy (Kelling and Moore, 1988) and, as Bittner (1975 p.53) argued, professional policing concentrated strongly on the elimination of political corruption by means of introducing traits of military discipline. As with the civil service, patronage was eliminated and political involvement in the hiring and firing of police officers was rooted out (Kelling and Moore, 1988). The rule of law and police professionalism became the major source of police legitimacy – leading to a narrowing of function and keener focus on crime control. Other types of activity, and particularly responses to community problems, came to be viewed with

disdain in policing circles and as ‘not real police work’ (Kelling and Moore, 1988). The assumption was that “(i)f police could concentrate their efforts on prevention of crime and apprehension of criminals, it followed that they could be more effective than if they dissipated their efforts on other problems” (Kelling and Moore, 1988 p. 8).

According to Kelling and Moore (1988), key factors that, in later years, came to characterise the professional policing era included a rise in levels of crime and fear of crime, concerns to ensure equality of the application of law enforcement for all, and particularly to address the perceived inequality in the treatment by the police of those from black and minority ethnic backgrounds. Becker and Becker (2002) have similarly argued that incidents of riot and civil disobedience played an important role in underlining professionalism as a key theme in policing in the 1970s and 1980s. But civil rights movements also challenged police legitimacy (Kelling and Moore, 1988), and as Edwards (1999) has argued, increasingly the police came to be viewed by civil rights campaigners as the most visible and powerful agency to interfere with individual rights and inherently political in their responses to protests by blacks, feminists, anti-war campaigners to name but a few.

And so to the community policing era was widely seen to build on the idea of cooperation between police and citizens, for example, in the provision of information about crime that could help the police apprehend suspects and improve performance in solving crimes. According to Kelling and Moore (1988), community policing is also an era in which the police have returned to a broader function again. In this era, the exercise of police discretion in the enforcement of law is also encouraged once again, as

part of the *sine qua non* of problem solving (Kelling and Moore, 1988 p.10). As Fielding (1996) has noted, community policing, in the UK at least, has also responded to various communities, not only citizens at neighbourhood level, and local politicians, (e.g. through local police committees), but also national government and the Home Office. This, as Fielding (1996 p. 54) has suggested, has meant that police would be in the position of having to balance priorities of local and national significance and, as such, would often be in the firing line of controversy and challenges to their legitimacy.

2.1.2.4. Community policing as a ‘circumlocution’

As indicated, a fourth classification of community policing is as a ‘circumlocution’. The use of the term circumlocution reflects the idea that police conceal, avoid or at least fail to clarify key contradictions or dilemmas in their work. Klockars (2005) argued that the legitimisation of police work has tended to be problematic as theirs is an institution whose means might involve coercion and offending society. He also asserted (2005 pp. 443-458) that legitimisation of police functions had been sought in four ways: through legalisation, militarisation, professionalisation and by community policing.

2.1.2.4.1. The legalisation circumlocution

The argument, he posited, was that the circumlocution of legalisation built on the myth that police are controlled by the courts and, as such, would need to demonstrate compliance with key procedures when petitioning the courts to punish an alleged offender. Concealment of the functions of the police, according to Klockars’ analysis,

was possible because of the unclear relationship between the courts, the law and the police. One key example that he used to illustrate this was Black's empirical research (1980). Black (1980) emphasised that the police have much discretion in enforcing the law, notably in deciding whether to make an arrest or not. According to Klockars (2005 p. 445) this and other research that pointed towards the selectivity of the police in the law enforcement and in the exercise of discretion was widespread and revealed that their behaviour was not controlled by 'the law'. Furthermore he argued that there was little hard evidence to suggest that, in practice, the courts were overseeing and controlling police practice (idem p. 447). Questions that arise then concerned the lack of neutrality of the police in enforcing the law and the lack of control over police behaviour.

2.1.2.4.2. The militarisation circumlocution

Klockars' militarisation circumlocution focuses on associating the police with the military, with the prestige of discipline within police ranks and with the acquisition of a strong and confidence-boosting image as crime-fighters. The idea of a 'war on crime' has also been accompanied by ideas such as the moral urgency to support the police and that any failure to do so (by standing in their way, or being mean-minded in relation to the resourcing for police activity) might be seen as 'siding with the enemy'⁴ (Klockars, 2005 p. 445). The relatively poor record of the police in fighting crime, and the limits

⁴ The so called war on drugs and organised crime launched in December 2006 by President Felipe Calderon in Mexico has been heavily criticised by large part of the society, human rights bodies and political actors in terms of the violence generated by the role of the military in fighting this war (see for example, Chabat, 2010; Los Angeles Times, 2011). Numerable quotes from the President making indirect allusion to the phrase used by Klockars (2005) regarding 'siding with the enemy' have been made to respond to criticism while calling for unity regarding his approach to fight organised crime (see for example, Sexenio, 2011).

upon police capability in this regard (not least because they are not in control of factors such as unemployment, the demographic profile, moral education and so on), illustrates how extensive has been the mystique here.

2.1.2.4.3. Professionalisation circumlocution

Klockars (2005) argued that the professionalisation of policing was based on the myth of dependence on special skills and knowledge for reducing crime. According to him, strict regulation of police behaviour would normally take place within the police station rather than outside and in full view by citizens. Professionalisation as the major source of police legitimacy, he suggested, centralises control by crude provisions of general bureaucratic regulations as it aims to reduce police discretion. However, he went on to argue, that it yielded a narrow view of how to deal with crime, particularly when it came to the relationship between the police and the public.

2.1.2.4.4. Community policing circumlocution

Finally, of his four, Klockars (2005) argued that community policing was also a circumlocution – and as such is based on two myths. First, was the emotional overlay of the concept of community, and second, the presumption that this would reduce crime. As has previously been described, problems arise when the term community is seen as a “group of people with a common history, common beliefs and understandings” (Klockars, 2005 p. 449). He observed that such communities were in practice very rare in modern cities and, where they did exist, few people showed much interest in

cultivating relationships with the police. In relation to the myth of reducing crime, Klockars asserted that the best evidence to date suggested that, no matter what police and citizens did, realistically, they could not expect to make any more than a marginal difference on crime levels (Klockars, 2005 p. 451).

2.1.2.5. Community policing as a ‘style’ or ‘tactic’

A fifth classification of community policing is simply as a ‘style’ or ‘tactic’ which primarily assumes that community policing does not depend necessarily on drastic organisational or ideological changes. In this respect, Pakes (2004) in particular, has conceived community policing as a ‘style’ of policing and done so alongside, other models, notably zero-tolerance policing, technology-led policing, Compstat and police-community relations.

So called ‘zero-tolerance policing’ is generally regarded as an offspring of the Broken Windows Theory (Dixon, 1999 p.12). Indeed, it directly builds on some elements of this theory, such as the aim of combating social deviance and disorder by targeting loitering, drunkenness, curfew-crawling or other behaviour in a public place considered unacceptable. However, zero-tolerance policing suggests a fairly passive role for the community on whose behalf the police would adopt a more dominant role (Greene, 2000 p. 320). Accordingly, the relationship between the public and the police would not necessarily be particularly close, police work being primarily focused on disorder and other anti-social behaviour that in their perception might in turn lead to crime (Greene, 2000; Ponsares, 2001). Zero-tolerance policing has been argued to imply a significant

diminution of police discretion about what (and particularly who) is to be targeted regarding law enforcement (Dixon, 1999 p.3). The appeal of this style of policing is evident when politicians⁵ want to show strong commitment to resolve crime issues and the public want their concerns in this respect to be addressed quickly (see for example, Hopkins 1998; UK Ministry of Justice, 2011a). However, Dixon (1999) has criticised the claims made about zero-tolerance policing, particularly in respect of the New York Police Department. He has argued that the fall in crime in the city there could not be attributed merely to zero-tolerance policing. Instead, he suggested that “(w)e do not know why this happened, although it seems likely that key factors are long-term economic revivals and demographic shifts (particularly a declining youth population)” (Dixon, 1999, page 6).

Turning to *technology-led policing*, Ponsares (2001) has suggested that this is a strategy the police use to collect intelligence primarily through the technology, although Pakes (2004 p. 41) has also used the term in a rather wider sense to denote proactivity in policing. Ponsares (2001) has argued that technology-led policing constitutes a strategy because it can be used within any other policing model – for example, surveillance in its various forms, is perhaps the icon of technological-led policing. As Pakes (2004) has commented, much of it is covert and includes bugs, telephone taps and tracking devices or the installation of closed circuit television (CCTV). Particularly given such examples, technology-led policing can also be thought of as working without the necessary cooperation of citizens, and without necessarily finding out or pursuing their priorities.

⁵ An example of this was the proposal of Prime Minister David Cameron to implement zero-tolerance policing after the public disorder characterised by the several riots spread around the UK in 2011 (The Guardian 2011).

Compstat can be viewed as a further style of policing, one that has been developed and much advocated in recent years, particularly in the context of a performance management culture. Moore (2003 p.470) has described it as a “combined technical and managerial system that embeds the technical system for the collection and distribution of performance information in a broader managerial system designed to focus the organisation as a whole, and a subset of managers who are relied on to exercise leadership in meeting the organisation’s objectives, on the task that the organisation faces”. Moreover, according to Weisburd et al (2003) *Compstat* reinforces traditional hierarchical structures. It emphasizes central control over individual initiative (internal accountability) and compliance with policies and procedures over creative efforts to address problems (Moore, 2003 p.471). Again, given this conception, *Compstat* is unlikely to focus on citizen-police cooperation or to set the policing agenda according to the needs of the community.

A focus on police-community relations represents a further style of policing characterized by fostering a “sense of police and community partnership” primarily through community relations units (Oliver, 2008 p.14). Anticipating the conflict of values between other forms of policing, some scholars have noted that most police departments have opted to have a separate unit in the police institution that looks specifically to develop relationships with the public (see Thacher, 2001a). These efforts can be seen as close to community policing, although as argued before, they do not necessarily imply drastic changes in the police institution (Oliver, 2008 p. 15).

According to Pakes (2004 p. 31) community policing is a style of policing consisting not only of reducing crime but in increasing public confidence and maintaining public order. Pakes (2004) has described community policing as being reliant on the consent and support of local communities, and which in turn requires regular interactions between police and the public, particularly with regard to the setting of and reporting on priorities. Besides suggesting that community policing is a style of policing which could be implemented without significant organisational or ideological changes, Pakes (2004) also conceived it as a style of policing in the light of a classification which included other elements beyond policing (i.e. state and military). Pakes (2004) referred to Wright's (2002) classification of four "models of public order policing": these being dependent on "how the relationship between the police, the state and the military is given shape" (Pakes, 2004 p. 30). The first of those models was the civil police model, in which the police and the military were completely separate in terms of organisation and objectives. The second was the state police model, in which the influence of the state was stronger and with less separation between the police and military. The third was the quasi-military police model, where the state would have significant control over the police, and where police and military would be so close as to be almost interchangeable in terms of personnel. Finally, there was the martial law model, which would represent a stronger version of the quasi-military police model where again there would be no separation of police and military forces; both forces remaining under the control of the state. Accordingly, Pakes (2004) suggested that community policing was not necessarily in opposition to other models of public order policing.

2.1.2.6. Implications of the meanings of community policing in a comparative perspective

As in the description of the main characteristics of community policing in the respective subsection of this chapter, the five-fold classification of community policing also reflects relativity regarding its conceptions and the possible reasons as to why community policing might have been adopted. For example, the classification provides a comparative base that shows more elements to contemplate when considering the meaning of community policing as a ‘model’-in which it represents a freshly framed response to the limits and disadvantages of the traditional model of policing-, as equivalent to a ‘revolution’– in which it represents a break-through in science that challenges the established assumptions and practices; as a new ‘era’ – in which it is seen rather as a popular response in a period of time; as a ‘circumlocution’– seen as an attempt to mask and avoid some of the key contradictions concerning policing and policing behaviour; or simply as one ‘style’ of policing, which does not requires large organisational or philosophical changes of the police. In this sense, the meanings of community policing become more complex as they allow the possibility of seeing more links with other theoretical constructs, and also, the meanings become more contextualised given that community policing is conceived in contexts as different as a scientific revolution or a simple style in policing.

This component of relativity has important implications when considering notions of community policing. Beyond confirming the lack of consensus on its meaning (see

Bennett, 1994; Kelling and Moore, 1988; Klockars, 2005), it also suggests that the notions of community policing can be better understood as different ‘valid interpretations’ but not as ‘objective descriptions’ that reflect fixed realities. An acknowledgement of the relative nature of community policing implies that all such differing (and sometimes contradictory) views are correct (or could be correct at one time) given that they highlight different elements of a given context (see Guba, 1990 p. 41). When there are explicit disagreements over specific notions of community policing among authors, this only reminds of the role of the various references they have used to construct their views about community policing, which in turn points to the complex nature of the term.

The following examples illustrate how some notions of community policing are disputed and re-constructed under a different light:

A) As suggested earlier, Oliver and Bartgis (1998) conceived the launch of community policing as a paradigm shift, using Kuhn’s (1970) notion. However, Wisler and Onwudiwe (2009) have questioned this conception and doubted whether the changes represented by community policing amount to a new ontology. Using Kuhn’s (1970) conception of ‘paradigm’, Wisler and Onwudiwe (2009) argued that community policing does not imply a new ontology as it does not postulate clear ‘entities’ or assigns them with specific roles. They commented, for example, on the lack of clarity in relation to the role of communities in local policing and highlighted the confusion and frustration in its implementation that this had created.

B) As described before, Novak et al (2002), Trojanowicz et al (2002), Sparrow (1988), Fielding (1995), and Rosenbaum (1994) conceived community policing as a theoretical model that responds specifically to the previously adopted 'professional model'. Kelling and Moore (1988) also saw it in this light and argued that community policing has provided *the* response to some of the problems encountered with 'professional policing'. However, Brogden (1987) criticised the view of community policing as a specific response to problems in dealing with crime, or as a cause of anything specific. Brogden (1987) also argued that the explanations based on 'cause-effect' or on a 'deterministic' logic provided only a limited explanation as to why a particular policing model was adopted. He said there is "confusion between what the police actually did and the causes that brought them about" (Brogden, 1987 p. 7). Similarly, Styles (1987 p. 20) also argued that the problem-response explanation was inadequate, by arguing that problems of crime and disorder were far from being unprecedented (one of the problems argued by Kelling and Moore, 1988). Styles (1987 p. 20) noted that the problem-response logic obscured the wider administrative and policy-forming context; this logic hindereings foresight beyond problems of crime or disorder, for example. He proposed that a comparative perspective could be helpful in dealing with the lack of sensitivity to the wider context (Styles, 1987).

These two examples then, illustrate how the meaning of community policing undergoes different constructions and re-constructions depending on the theoretical interest of the scholars. While the interest in this thesis was never to seek correct or true definitions,

exploring different views can certainly provide a richer understanding of the uses of the term and a critical platform from which to review different conceptions of community policing. The following subsection will illustrate that despite the plethora of theoretical interests and points of references on community policing, some scholars have committed to the (controversial) task of seeking to identify what they regard to be mistaken conceptions of the subject.

2.1.2.7. What community policing is not

Some scholars, in pursuing a clearer definition of community policing have focused on what community policing is not, and have done so with a comparative perspective. For example, Trojanowicz et al (2002 pp. 18-27) identified twelve aspects that, in their view, could not be considered as community policing. Six of these might be seen as especially relevant to the current study. First, they suggested that community policing is not a technique or program that police departments could apply to specific problems, but more a philosophical model. Second, they suggest it was not ‘public relations’ per se; (although they certainly saw this as a by-product) because of its focus on helping the community and not just in ‘selling’ the police department to citizens. Third, they argued that community policing was not a detraction from serious crime nor a substitute for a focus on serious crime. Fourth, it was not organised in the typical paramilitary hierarchy that would hinder front line officers and citizens from setting local policing priorities. Fifth, community policing was not a separate unit within a police department but represented a culture that is expected to pervade the entire force. Sixth, community policing was not just social work, since officers would have to be many things, law

enforcers and peace makers, symbols of authority and community representatives (Cumming et al, 1965).

Other scholars such as Mastrofski et al (1995) have argued that while there is no consensus on what community policing is, there was however one clear element which could not be regarded as being characteristic of community policing. They referred to law enforcement as the single, core function of the police. In this sense, they stated that community policing would allow the police to acknowledge that sometimes, despite the technical statutes of the law (for example, the power to make arrests), these would not be followed or considered as the best option. In this respect, law enforcement needed to be understood as only a mean to other ends (an arrest not being the end in itself) and that social problems could equally well be resolved by other means.

2.1.2.8. The wider context of drivers for community policing

This subsection has the twofold purpose of: a) reviewing other possible drivers for the emergence of community policing beyond the context of policing and which, in turn, may be influencing the ways it has been conceived. Styles (1987) particularly criticised the rationale of seeing the characteristics of policing as drivers to explain why police do what they do, and encouraged instead a look at a wider context. In this sense, the meaning of community policing and the reasons that may account for its emergence may be seen in a different light from the kinds of conceptions previously described. For the purpose of this thesis, the following elements form part of the wider context and

which might perhaps have also influenced the emergence and conception of community policing: citizen participation⁶, democracy, legitimacy and trust.

Arnstein (1969 p. 216) defined citizen participation as the redistribution of power that would enable the 'have-nots' to join in and determining how information is shared, how goals and policies are set, how resources are allocated and how programs are operated. Given this conception, many authors have seen citizen participation as a cornerstone of democracy (see for example, Arnstein, 1969; Wang and Wart, 2007; Dahl 2000). Indeed, Dahl (2000 p.37) considered that citizen participation was a criterion by which to define democracy, and Dryzek and List (2003 p.1) stated that the essence of democracy was "the capacity of those affected by a collective decision to deliberate in the production of that decision". Other scholars such as Macedo (2005 p.4) and Barber (2003) have argued that democracy means to reflect the interest of the citizens as a whole. Beyond the notion of representation, democracy has been conceived as the means that citizens have to conduct a dialogue with government, to exchange views and to consent to the actions taken (Hirst, 2000).

In close relation to the notions of citizen participation and democracy, Coleman (1988) has argued that citizens also count on their social relationships to achieve common aims. Social relations, he suggested, constitute useful capital resources for actors through processes such as establishing obligations, expectations and trustworthiness, creating channels for information, and setting norms backed by efficient sanctions (Coleman,

⁶ The terms citizen participation, public involvement, citizen involvement are sometimes used interchangeably in this research given their broadly common focus on the cooperation of the citizen with public administrative processes.

1988 pp. 103-104). The social resources that facilitate achieving common aims and shape norms of interaction and expectations are normally referred to as social capital (Coleman, 1988 p. 88). In close relation to these ideas, Putnam (1995) has argued that when people organise themselves in civic associations, they are more likely to participate in political affairs, thus making civic engagement and social capital important to democracy.

Beyond considering citizen participation as helpful for democracy in terms of representing citizens' interests, some authors have noted that governments have also seen it as beneficial for achieving efficiency and effectiveness in public services (see for example, Whitaker, 1980). The improvement of public policies rests on assumptions such as that decision-makers and others gain better understanding of the 'facts', values and opinions pertaining to a policy issue when there is mutual exchange of views (Dorcey, 1994 p.3); in other words this involves an educative process by which public policies are improved (Walker, 1966). Another presumption is that public services incorporating citizens' perspectives more fully are likely to enjoy the opportunity for immediate feedback which potentially creates efficiencies because citizens can assist in by pointing out needless programs, wasteful projects, and indeed more feasible options (Herbert, 1972). Besides improving efficiency and effectiveness, citizen participation is also driven by the desire of being seen as legitimate (Wang and Wart, 2007). According to Gordon (2005 pp.115-116), Habermas formulated his notion of legitimacy according to democratic principles, arguing inter alia, two key aspects: firstly, that not all lawful behaviour can be coerced, or induced by threat of sanctions; it has to arise freely- in other words it has to arise by consent and secondly, that legitimacy can be achieved

through deliberation and having the input of those affected. Habermas also observed that legitimacy implies assent on the part of the public to comply with laws (cited in Gordon, 2005 pp. 115-116). Thomas (1990) argued that government legitimacy is as important as effectiveness and efficiency. Indeed, Wallner (2008) warned that even if a policy can achieve its objectives in an efficient and effective way, the policy can still fail in terms of legitimacy.

Equally important to efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy is the role of trust for the operation of government, particularly for gaining the cooperation of the citizens in carrying out public policies (Misztal 2001). Bouckaert and Van de Walle (2003 p. 334) have argued that while trust has meant different things, it often refers to the reliability of service delivery or the expectation that a policy will correspond to one's wishes. According to Misztal (2001 pp. 371-372) interest among researchers in the notion of trust has much to do with a general decline in trust in government due to a combination of factors including: more critical, sophisticated and disillusioned citizens, more opaque institutional norms and less trustworthy politicians. For Bouckaert and Van de Walle (2003), low trust can also be explained, in part, by perceptions among citizens of the failing performance of the government.

Trust has also been seen as key to citizens' compliance with law (Nye, 1998 p. 4). In a similar view, King et al (1988) conceived trust as an important *input* to enhanced involvement and cooperation on the part of citizens with government. However, Misztal (2001) who analysed the link between trust and cooperative behaviour has argued that the relationship was not straightforward.

Interestingly, trust is not only seen as an *input* to enhance citizen cooperation but also as an *outcome* of citizen participation (Wang and Wart, 2007). Wang and Wart (2007) warned that the relationship between trust and public participation is indeed a complex one which is based on a number of assumptions. Firstly, public trust is not the only important outcome of citizen participation (Conway, 1991). Public participation can also lead to legitimacy, a better-informed public, improved decision making, and altered patterns of political power. Secondly, it can also be the case that, in well-performing democracies, public participation may lead to confusion, frustration or poor policies rather than to clarity, consensus and good policies (Wang and Wart, 2007). Within the field of policing, Raine and Dunstan (2007) made a similar observation. They suggested that the outcomes of certain interactions between police and citizens (for example, when police provide accounts for the execution of certain responsibilities) are not necessarily all positive; they can easily become counterproductive, serving to undermine, rather than to enhance trust. Yet, Raine and Dunstan (2007) concluded that citizen participation in policing (in the form of deliberative exchanges) do play a key role in the building of trust between citizen and state more generally.

In sum, some of the drivers and conceptions of community policing resemble the broad relationship existing between the state and the citizens (and not only a relationship between specific crime problems and solutions); a relationship that is shaped by ideas of citizen participation⁷, democracy, legitimacy and trust. First, this illustrates that a closer

⁷ The terms citizen participation, public involvement, and citizen involvement are used interchangeably in this research when they refer to a common aspect: the cooperation of the citizen with the public administration.

interaction between the state and citizens is an idea which is not unique to policing. However, there are strong similarities between the reasons explaining the closer relationship between state and citizens and those accounting for the closer relationship between police and citizens: these including more responsiveness to citizens' expectations about service provision, cooperation on the part of the citizens, improved trust on the part of the citizens, having citizens' consent to the carrying out of public policies, implementing a problem-solving approach (e.g. solving inefficiency and ineffectiveness) and improving legitimacy. Second, all such factors can be seen as generally interconnected with each other. This adds complexity and dynamism to the conceptions of community policing.

2.2. COMMUNITY POLICING IN MEXICO AND THE UK

Various references, including some footnotes, have been made in previous subsections to community policing in Mexico and the UK to provide some contextualisation for the research. However, in this section some further, more substantive, characteristics of the position in each country is provided to set the scene for the analysis which follows and to highlight comparative aspects, on which there is almost no published literature (this is particularly the case in Mexico)⁸. This subsection will highlight a number of key characteristics of community policing in Mexico and the UK and offer some

⁸ While *the concept of proximity* between police and citizens has been adopted in the most recent strategy to combat crime (see Secretaría de Seguridad Pública 2007), community policing as a practice has only been implemented in few of the Mexico's 32 federal entities- including Guadalajara, Federal District and the State of Mexico (see for example, ICESI, 2006). This very much explains why there is also scarce literature on community policing.

comparative analysis to illuminate different meanings of the concept and of how it is understood in the respective countries in practice.

2.2.1. Community policing in the UK and Mexico: labels and purposes

In the UK, the term most widely used for community policing is ‘Neighbourhood Policing’ while in Mexico, it is ‘Proximity Policing’ in the Federal District and in the State of Mexico. Despite the difference in names, all three terms may be similarly considered as falling under the umbrella of community policing (for arguments in line with this see Fielding, 1995; Freidmann, 1992; Rosenbaum, 1994), and the focus of this thesis is less on the labels and more on the comparability of the underlying ideas, for example, the relationship between police and citizens and cooperation in the co-production of public safety and order.

While previous sections have pointed to various reasons for the implementation and practice of community policing in the UK, the origins of Neighbourhood Policing, according to Tilley (2008 p. 98), also extend back at least to the ideas and community policing programs initiated by John Alderson, Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall in the early 1970s. According to Tilley (2008 pp. 101-102), contemporary Neighbourhood Policing is one expression of those ideas, and indeed both labels – ‘community policing’ and ‘neighbourhood policing’ tend to be used interchangeably by the Home Office and in local police forces – with a regime of neighbourhood policing initially piloted at a ward level as part of the National Reassurance Policing Programme that was introduced between October 2003 and March 2005 and for which ‘Police

Community Support Officers' (PCSOs) were recruited, ahead of roll-out across the entire country. The primary aims of the UK regime of Neighbourhood Policing were to increase confidence⁹ and satisfaction, reduce the fear of crime and resolve local problems of crime and anti-social behaviour (see Mason, 2009). Police Community Support Officers, first pioneered in 2002, were to work alongside ordinary Police Constables; although new PCSOs recruits were seen as the key figures in the roll-out of Neighbourhood Policing.

Turning to Mexico, specifically to the Federal District Police (the local police of Mexico City), 'proximity policing' was first established after a reorganisation of the police in 2008 (see SSP-DF, 2011), although there was a precedent from 2000 to 2006 (see Reglamento Interior de la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública del Distrito Federal 2005). This was in response to increasing levels of crime, negative public perceptions¹⁰ about policing and security in Mexico City, and frustrations about the lack of channels through which citizens might express their views and influence policing policies (see SSP-DF, 2011). 'Proximity police officers' were in fact a redesignation of the police officers who had previously been working under the title of "preventive police", and who constituted the majority of the local policing organisation.

⁹ According to Morgan and Newburn (1997 p. 1), in the late 1990s, public trust in the British police and criminal justice was in crisis, due in no small part to circumstances such as the high level of crime in society, fear of crime, and several highly publicised miscarriages of justice.

¹⁰ Negative public perceptions, according to Benítez (2009 pp. 175-174) refer not only to the police, but also to the political and the judicial system, and have to do with the fairly continuous crisis regarding the state of lawlessness and disorder ever since the end of the 1980s related to the brazen power of Mexican cartels- which has provided an exceptional and on-going challenge to government and to the society as a whole.

In the State of Mexico, ‘proximity policing’ in the State of Mexico was introduced a little earlier in 2006 and with two main objectives: to provide security, especially in the public state schools, and to address the mainly negative public perceptions of the police, particularly through actions in schools (ASE, 2011). Here ‘proximity police officers’ are exclusively deployed to this specific program (see ASE, 2011).

In a comparative perspective, regarding the role of trust, it is obvious that trust has played an important role in the emergence and aims of community policing in the UK. Although it seems that trust does not play *officially* a significant role in Mexico, it is a major issue in virtually any reference to the police (see for example, Bergman and Flom, 2008). Indeed, trust may play a much bigger role in policing in Mexico. For example, according to the World Values Survey (2005-2008), the percentage of people that have confidence/trust in their police is just 33.6% in that country compared with 72.3% in the United Kingdom.

2.2.2. Public disorder as a driver of community policing in the UK and Mexico

Public disorder has also played a distinctive role in the advent of neighbourhood policing in the UK and proximity policing in Mexico. According to Skolnick and Bayley (1988), the UK riots in Brixton, South London, in the early 1980s, represented a particular turning point marked by the 1981 Scarman Report, which examined the underlying causes of those riots. In this report a number of social, political, and economic factors were highlighted as creating “a predisposition toward violent protest”, but more particularly, it argued that a major cause of the hostility was loss of confidence

in the police, caused by 'hard' policing methods (i.e. stop and search) and racially prejudiced conduct by some police officers. The Scarman Report (1981) played a significant role in establishing the case for some kind of community-level consultation process in relation to policing (Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). The report argued that "a police force which does not consult locally will fail to be efficient" (cited in Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.11) and also argued that the riots were an outburst of anger and resentment by young black people against the police as a result of the adoption of policing methods which have failed to command the support or consent of the local communities.

However, in Mexico, public disorder directed towards the police or protests that sometimes end up in riots against the police, have been far more commonplace. Indeed, protests are so common in this country that the multiple meanings they acquire are difficult to link directly with the emergence of community policing. Increasingly, it is common knowledge that there is a serious problem of lack of public order, particularly in Mexico City, where there have even been legislative attempts to regulate the numerous public protests that take place in the city. Indeed, according to the National Action Party (which proposed reforms to the law on protest), there were 1634 protests in 2010 alone in the Federal District (see Legislative Assembly of the Federal District, 2011).

Riots against the police have not been particularly associated with any one social or racial group, but instead have tended to reflect a range of concerns by various sectors of the population. Protests that have turned into rioting against police have also grown in

number from specific issues such as labour strikes in pursuit of wage increases or demands for improvement in health and safety conditions (for example, The Modelo Brewery strike in 1990 see La Botz, 1992) and student marches against increased tuition fees (see Edelman, 2001 pp.192-226). Some riots against the police have also involved serious violence, including lynching of police officers in Mexico City in 2004 and 2005 (see Davis, 2006) and a beating (again of police officers) in 2006 in the State of Mexico (in Texcoco and San Salvador Atenco). This latter case subsequently invoked retaliation by the police, involving killing, torturing and sexual harassment meted out on members of a local community (see report of the Supreme Court of Justice of Mexico, 2006). Nor were the lynchings the first of such incidents and, in the case of the police in Mexico City involved officers belonging to the Federal Police and led to the sacking in 2004 of the police chief after allegations of an inadequate police investigation and response. Against such a background, according to Cornelius and Shirk, (2007 pp. 125-126) the President of Mexico took the decision to establish a Council of Citizen Participation (only at the federal level) to provide a forum for reviewing government policies, monitoring performance and propose courses of action. The President of Mexico declared that this council would represent an 'alliance' between government and citizens (see discourse of the Presidency of Mexico, 2005). While this initiative was at the Federal Level, there were no similar responses at the state level which may suggest that public riots against police and public protest can not be considered a key driver for the emergence of community policing.

Conclusions

Based on an extensive review of published literature, this chapter has sought to take stock of current understandings in relation to the three questions: a) What is community policing - and how does it differ from other key approaches of policing? b) What have been the key drivers in recent years for the development and application of community policing?. and c) How important as a driver has trust been in the conception of community policing? In exploring these questions, the chapter has also provided further contextualisation on community policing in the UK and Mexico by drawing on relevant published materials in those states.

Evidently there are difficulties in defining the concept of community policing in simple terms because, according to the literature, too many theoretical factors and practical issues are involved. However, the lack of consensus around the term has also had the positive effect in highlighting the fact that community policing has been developed and practiced because it is seen as being responsive to complex social phenomena that, themselves reflect many interconnecting factors. Conceiving community policing as responding to complex social phenomena may seem an obvious and straightforward point, although sometimes this tends to be overlooked. For example, suggestions were examined that sought to identify non-characteristics of community policing and which appeared to ignore the importance of context. Likewise, other literature was reviewed that portrayed community policing at a theoretical level, as if it were a single coherent concept (see Skolnick and Bayley, 1988). In the end, the versatility of the meaning of

community policing would seem to depend on the different notions of the terms ‘community’ and ‘policing’ themselves, the constant adaptation of the term to particular theoretical positions and the on-going criticism by some authors of conceptions that do not happen to fit their rationales. This state of affairs was amply illustrated in comparing the meanings of community policing as a ‘model’ (a theoretical response to the limits and disadvantages of the traditional model of policing), as a ‘revolution’ (a breakthrough in science that challenges the established assumptions and practices of policing), as a new ‘era’ (a popular response in this time to the problems in policing), as a ‘circumlocution’ (i.e. an attempt to mask and avoid some of the key contradictions concerning policing) and as one ‘style’ of policing (an operational approach which does not requires big organisational or philosophical changes in the police).

Community policing is not easily defined theoretically but it frequently aims at addressing citizens’ demands, improving police services (i.e. efficiency and effectiveness), implementing a solution to specific issues, enhancing the cooperation of the citizens with the police, improving police legitimacy, building consent and trust on the part of the citizens. Many such objectives are not unique to policing; it is clear from the literature that the same objectives have also been shaping other public services too. Indeed, some of the conceptions for such objectives show close links among each other, which again, underlines the complex nature of the term community policing.

This chapter also had the purpose of examining the importance of trust as a driver in the literature on community policing and while generally finding it not to be a key determinant, it was identified as a factor within the ‘shift’ in policing and also as a

driver in the wider changes taking place in public services more generally. Moreover, it was evident from the literature that trust is itself linked to other drivers that have motivated change, for example trust appears somehow linked to more cooperative behaviour (see Misztal, 2001) and trust is argued to be important because of its association with the willingness of people to comply with laws (Nye 1998).

Contrasting aspects about community policing in Mexico and in the United Kingdom were also described. The contrasting focus helped to see how meanings of the same phenomenon can play different roles in how community policing is practiced and understood. While riots against the police were seen to be a driver towards community policing in the UK, in Mexico they have triggered other responses which have less to do with the emergence of community policing. Meanwhile, and specifically, in relation to the role of trust, the chapter has highlighted that, while trust in the police has been an important driver in the UK policing context, in Mexico its role has not been so clearly stated by the authorities. That said, the general lack of trust in the country has been an issue of great relevance to Mexican policing.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

From the literature review on community policing presented in the previous chapter, it was concluded that there are a number of key unresolved issues. On one hand, because community policing means different things to different people (Eck and Rosenbaum, 1994 p.5), and that multiple objectives are pursued through it (see for example, Fielding, 2005 p. 460, Friedmann, 1992 p. 4; Sparrow, 1988 pp. 1-2; Rosenbaum et al, 1994 pp.331-332; Kelling and Moore, 1988), it follows that its impact is likely to be understood in different ways and depending on the particular social context from which it is viewed. On the other hand, the literature review also highlighted some differences of academic viewpoint about how to conceptualise community policing, for example, as a coherent theoretical concept (Skolnick and Bayley 1988) or as a concept with its own particular characteristics that differentiate it from other models of policing (Trojanowicz et al, 2002 pp. 18-27). Both conceptions seem to consider community policing in an abstract way, and do not necessarily connect it with the social contexts in which it is practiced.

This all supports the case for new research to identify and explain why community policing might be so variously conceived; why might it be regarded as relevant to so many different issues; why its impact might be judged in different ways; and particularly, what the views of police and citizens respectively are on such matters?

These are the key aims of this thesis. This particular chapter explains the methodology used to explore those questions empirically. It is a methodology which pays special attention to the reasons that police and citizens give for conceiving community policing in the ways that they do. In this sense, the research questions, the methods of data collection and the analysis undertaken, are essentially based on a comparative-qualitative approach that examines the different understandings, conceptions and views about community policing of police personnel and of citizens.

The chapter is divided into eight sections. The first describes the chosen epistemological position of the research, namely constructivism, which provides the general grounds for understanding the logic behind the qualitative-comparative approach and the case study design. The second section presents the research questions and their rationale. The third, discusses the selected research design, introducing the four case studies which provided the settings for the empirical components of this investigation. The fourth section is concerned with development of the data collection instruments, namely the design and protocols for the interviews, while the fifth describes the processes of data collection. The sixth describes the methods of analysis: coding and cross-case analysis and the seventh focuses on the ethical dilemmas raised while conducting the research. Finally, the eighth section is concerned with reflexivity and reflections on the chosen research design and methodology.

3.1. ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

As with any research, it is important to clarify the ontology and epistemology of this particular study of community policing, and to reflect upon and justify the chosen approach vis a vis competing philosophies, theories and analytical traditions (see Morgan and Smircich, 1980). Ontology refers to the beliefs about the nature of the social world (Snape and Spencer, 2004 p. 1). For example, ontology focuses on questions such as ‘whether or not a social reality exists independently of human conceptions’, ‘whether there is a single shared social reality or multiple context-specific realities’, and ‘whether or not social behaviour is governed by immutable or generalisable laws’ (Snape and Spencer, 2004 p.11). On the other hand, epistemology is concerned with ways of knowing about the social world of, in this particular instance, policing in local communities. Epistemology focuses on questions such as ‘how can we know about reality and what is the basis of our knowledge?’ (Snape and Spencer, 2004 p. 13). Different epistemological positions provide different explanations about the nature of reality and of the relationship between the individual (the knower) and that ‘reality’ (the known). Every researcher applies their own set of epistemological assumptions when conducting their investigations.

Despite its importance, the task of clarifying the assumptions about ontology and epistemology is often not easily executed in social science research, and it is certainly not a straightforward endeavour because of wide spread and on-going debates about the nature of the social world and multiple disagreements over what are the bases of our

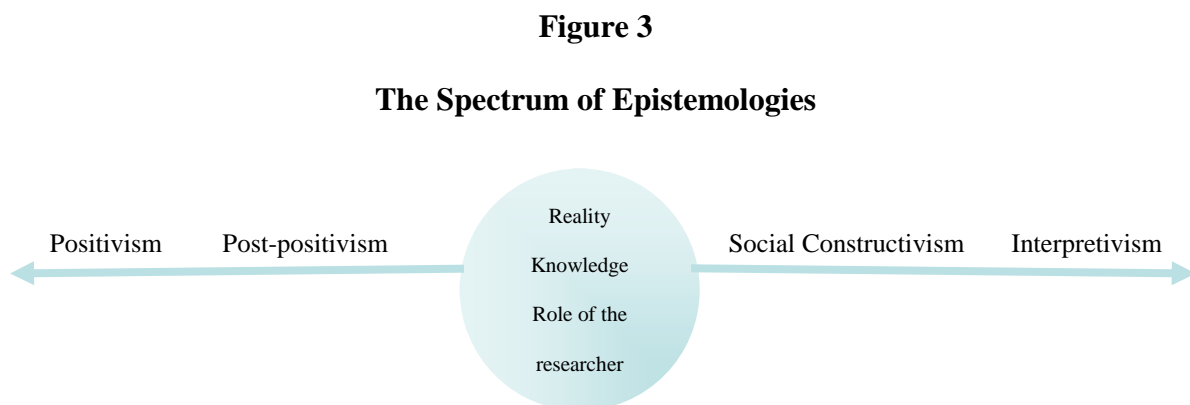
knowledge and how we build it. For example, Hülse and Spencer¹¹ (2008) have questioned the ‘objectivity’ of accounts presented by scholars from their interview-based research, arguing that, far from ‘objective truth’ such accounts are usually heavily interpreted by the researcher (Hülse and Spencer, 2008 p. 573). One crucial consequence for Hülse and Spencer (2008 pp. 574-575) is that many studies show insufficient recognition of the subjectivity of research findings and fail to present conclusions which acknowledge the potential ‘arbitrariness’ of understandings. One particular illustration of all this from within the context of policing comes from Quinney (2008 p. 18) who has argued that the basis of knowledge in criminology, particularly about what crime and criminal behaviour means, much depends on the definitions created and propagated by an elite of actors with varying degrees of power (political and social). In his view, until fairly recent times, studies in criminology were dominated by the narrowly defined terms ‘criminal’ and ‘crime’, as if both terms were absolute conceptions or had undisputable attributes (Quinney, 2008 pp. 3-4).

So far as this research on community policing is concerned, the starting point has been the ontological position that social reality does not exist independently of human conceptions, that reality is context-specific, and therefore that there are no immutable laws governing social behaviour to be identified. Meanwhile, the epistemological position of the research is described as *social constructivism* in which, it is suggested, one of the best ways to build knowledge about reality is to take into account the social

¹¹ Hülse and Spencer (2008) refer to scholars in the field of terrorism who present their findings as if they had an objective basis, while imputing intentions to the terrorist’s accounts – i.e. intentions seen as essentially immoral.

context – and for which in this particular study, has included police, citizens and their socio-geographical contexts.

The basic principles of social constructivism are best described in relation to two other much discussed epistemologies. On one side of the epistemological spectrum is ‘positivism’ (and ‘post-positivism’) while at the other extreme is ‘interpretivism’ (Adler 1997; Snape and Spencer, 2004 pp. 16-17; Holden and Lynch, 2004). As is illustrated graphically in the following figure, different epistemologies¹² can be distinguished from one another in three respects: the nature of reality, the nature of the knowledge on which to focus, and the role of researcher.



Broadly, the fundamental tenet of positivism is of a realist conception of events and behaviour; it assumes that the reality exists independent of the individual, proposing that such reality is objective and can be described, measured and tested scientifically by hypotheses (see Guba and Lincoln, 2005 p. 195). Post-positivism adopts a rather less

¹² Guba and Lincoln (2005 p. 192) explain that epistemologies which once were considered irreconcilable may now begin to be closer, so it is a matter of being aware where and how they exhibit confluence and where and how they exhibit differences and contradictions. They also note that the epistemological postures are in constant readjustment (Guba and Lincoln, 2005 p. 197).

categorical conception of reality, assuming that while it exists, and is again independent of the individual, it can only be known and measured in an imperfect and probabilistic manner. Yet, even when reality is imperfectly known, building knowledge depends on collecting reliable data and on seeking to build causal explanations (see Guba and Lincoln, 2005 p. 195). In positivist and post-positivist methodologies the researcher is seen as detached from values and other potential biasing factors when studying ‘the reality’, and will select methods that seek to identify and confirm ‘the facts’ (Guba 1990). Traditionally¹³, such methods might include experiments (or quasi experiments) to test hypotheses, or large scale surveys to analyse probabilistic relationships (Morgan and Smircich, 1980 pp.492-495; Holden and Lynch, 2004 p. 401).

In the context of this particular research, positivism and post-positivism might perhaps suggest the existence of a set of essential characteristics for community policing, irrespective of the individual actors or the context in which that particular model of policing happened to be being practiced. Accordingly, positivism and post-positivism might assume there to be one best way to practice community policing and that the issues it seeks to address are objective features of each particular geographical location – i.e. a level of crime or acts of public disorder– or objective criminal behaviours. Positivists and post-positivists would typically be less concerned about varying definitions of community policing among police and citizens at the local level and would instead probably propose their own working definitions of the term according to the specific purposes of their research. They might then be interested to examine how

¹³ Snape and Spencer (2004 p.17) advert that there proponents of the idea that certain methods are more adequate for specific epistemologies although there are others arguing that methods associated to different epistemologies can be mixed. Also, as Hülse and Spencer (2008 p. 573) advert, there are researchers using qualitative methods such as interviews but assuming that their data and analysis is objective.

well community policing works against their own conceptions of it, or to test different theories to predict how, and to what extent, the perspectives of police and citizens happened to align with one another. O'Shea's quantitative study might be considered an example of this epistemological position (O'Shea, 2000).

At the other end of the epistemological spectrum lies interpretivism/subjectivism which suggests no such external reality for the individual, and instead assumes that 'reality' is all interpretation (Morgan and Smircich, 1980). Here the relationship between an individual and society is regarded as relativist, and there are considered to be no reliable cause and effect relationships to be discovered, because individuals are intentional beings, voluntaristic and autonomous (Morgan and Smircich, 1980 p. 494). Methods aimed at hypothesis testing or at seeking causal explanations are considered inappropriate because the social world is felt not to be governed by law-like regularities and instead mediated through meaning and individuals (Snape and Spencer, 2004 p. 17). Instead, typically appropriate methods would refer to the collection of data to give account of the subjectivity of the individual (Morgan and Smircich, 1980 p.492). Knowledge about multiple realities – relative realities – would be regarded as being dependent on ability to understand the ways in which human beings see and shape the world from inside themselves (Morgan and Smircich 1980 p.497; Snape and Spencer, 2004 p. 16). Thus, knowledge is often viewed as no more than an interpretation in which the scientist, as a human being, has imposed a personal frame of reference on the world (Morgan and Smircich, 1980 p.493). As Snape and Spencer (2004, p. 16) have suggested, the researcher and the social world are hardly independent of each other, and, indeed, are likely to have reciprocal impact. Moreover, because from an interpretivist

perspective, knowledge cannot be built independently from an individual, knowledge is regarded as relative (Morgan and Smircich, 1980 p.497) and there is no basis from which to assess whether one theory is better than another (Holden and Lynch, 2004 p. 405). Traditionally, the methods of data collection that are seen as appropriate for this epistemology are action research, ethnographic study, focus groups, gaming or role playing and in depth interviews (Holden and Lynch, 2004 p. 401).

Perhaps, under interpretivism the meaning of community policing might only be understood from each individual's insight; that its goals and impact would all be relative to the individual in question; and that to talk of, and identify, good and bad practices in this context would be inappropriate. In the same vein, research about community policing could seem little more than arbitrary and only to highlight the personal interpretations of the investigator.

Social constructivism can be considered as lying somewhere between the two epistemologies previously described. Some, like Guba (1990, p. 233) argue that it lies close to interpretivism while others suggest it to lie in the middle between positivism and interpretivism (see for example, Adler 1997). Either way, the basic premises of social constructivism, and on which this investigation has been based, are as follows:

a) that there are many versions of reality, and which may conflict with one another because they are the products of human intellects (Guba and Lincoln, 1994 p. 111);

- b) that all such differing views of reality are to be considered valid –or could be valid in some respects– (Guba, 1990 p. 41) and can be analysed and assessed¹⁴ by studying multiple claims (Miller and Fox, 1999 p. 64);
- c) that the relativism it reflects is compatible with local realities, but not with assumed universal realities across places and cultures (Baghrarian, 2004 p. 2);
- d) that realities are relative but in a limited sense because they are socially constructed and depend not only on subjective personal views but also on the shared knowledge of individuals and the collective meanings they attach to a given situation (Adler, 1997);
- e) that many of the judgements, concepts and meanings held by individuals are context-dependent in terms of particular events or conceptualisations at particular times, places and in relation to the individuals with whom there is interaction (Baghrarian, 2004 pp. 8-9);
- f) that the notion of causality in social constructivism may be used to refer to the collective understandings or shared meanings provided by people, given that meanings can entail reasons why things are as they are and indications of how people think they should behave (Adler, 1997); and
- g) that the researcher is actively engaged in facilitating the ‘multivoice’ re-construction, between the researcher’s own construction as well as those of all other participants (Guba, 1994 p. 115).

The methods of data collection and analysis that align most appropriately with constructivism may well be the same as those associating with interpretivism (see categorization provided by Holden and Lynch, 2004 p. 401), and qualitative interviews

¹⁴ For example, they can be assessed not in terms of whether they are right or wrong, but whether some understandings are or are not shared by others –for example by a specific social group.

can also fit the purpose of gathering an account of an individual's perspectives and perceptions (Charmaz, 2002 p.676). However, social constructivism certainly deserves to be considered as an epistemological position in its own right because of its own blend of characteristics which both align and differ from positivism and interpretivism respectively. Social constructivism was indeed considered to be the most appropriate epistemology for this particular research because, as indicated, it pays attention to the various understandings that different individuals have, in this instance, police and citizens' conceptions of community policing; while at the same time taking account of how associated concepts –in this case, for example, crime and anti-social behaviour– are viewed and addressed. Indeed, as such, it supports the starting point for this research the idea that crime and related issues, such as anti-social behaviour are best seen as social constructions not as representations of 'objective' reality (see for example, Spalek, 2008 p. 2; Quinney, 2008 p. 18). In this sense, it is argued that the constructivist principles described above provide a sound justification for the adoption of a qualitative and comparative approach for the research here. In this respect, Ritchie and Lewis, (2003 p. 26-27) for instance, have argued that social contexts and meanings are two key parts of any qualitative research while Zedner (2003) has argued the value of a comparative approaches because of the context-dependent nature of meanings.

Fielding (2002 p. 150) has suggested that *"postmodernism is concerned with the implications of relativism, subjectivism, and the idea that no perspective, theory, or intellectual practice has a monopoly of authority. These ideas bear on the practice of social research, of which police studies is a part... But...the specific implications of these ideas for CP (community policing) have been little developed"*. The social

constructivist approach adopted in this research arguably contributes to an understanding of some such implications, for example, the implications of not having a single definition of community policing, of having different notions associated with its practice, such as crime and anti-social behaviour, and of having different conceptions of what success in this context might mean.

3.2. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The key research questions for this thesis have sought to derive understanding and build knowledge about community policing based on the variety of understandings and views and from different social contexts (that include police and citizens from four different geographical locations). The focus on both police and citizens' views respectively is important not least because the notion of community policing is generally understood to imply a close relationship between citizens and police and some measure of citizen influence on what and how policing is carried out at the local level (see for example, Skogan and Hartnett, 1997 p.5; Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.1; Fielding, 2005 p. 460).

As indicated, the thesis is based on a qualitative-comparative investigation – this being justified by the particular epistemology adopted, but also on the basis of the empirical evidence that suggests widespread development of community policing around the world. With such a situation, there are important questions to be considered about the capacity of community policing to deliver the benefits many presume of it, for example, that this form of policing would be more responsive to citizens' expectations (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997 p.5), that it would support a more personalised approach (Manning,

1984 p. 206), that it would be more effective and efficient in terms of crime control, in reducing fear of crime, in improving quality of life for local residents, and in strengthening police legitimacy and public confidence (Friedmann, 1992 p. 4). But how widely are such expectations and presumptions shared and understood? Exactly what understandings and expectations do citizens and police respectively have of community policing, to what extent are understandings aligned in this respect, and indeed also with regard to the impacts of community policing?

This thesis grew from an initial focus on the meanings of community policing – an important endeavour and one endorsed by Cornwall (2007 p. 471) who has disputed the alternative idea that studying meanings of concepts can be seen as irrelevant to the real world of getting things done. As Adler (1997) has suggested, meanings provide people with understandings as to why things are as they seem, and indications of what to expect. In particular, given that meanings are context-dependent, undertaking research on the meanings of a complex concept like community policing invites a comparative analysis of its application and impact in different contexts (see for example, Zedner 2003). For this reason, it was considered important in this research to identify differences and similarities in the conceptions and purposes of community policing between different geographical locations. From a social constructivist perspective, the aim of such comparisons would be to capture the complexity of community policing in a more comprehensive way and reflect the diversity of understandings in and between the different settings (see Wrede, 2010 p. 89). As stated, the comparisons cover settings in Mexico and the UK, which themselves provide significant contrasts in many respects. As Bendix (2007 pp.16-17) and Bayley (1999 p.6) have argued such comparisons allow

the researcher to define more sharply the particular characteristics of each context and allow the investigator to see particular features and factors in specific settings that otherwise could be assumed to be unremarkable. In a similar rationale, Tobin (2005 p. 92) has argued that qualitative comparative research helps to make the familiar seem strange and the strange seem familiar.

In the UK, for example, there is a long tradition of '*unarmed*' *police officers* -often argued to be a distinctive feature of British policing and a conscious repudiation of the military model (Waddington, 1999 pp. 154-155). Also, police in the UK enjoy a relatively *high level of public trust* (around 70% according to the World Values Survey 2005-2008); it is a country in which *serious crime rates have long been considered to be low*, for example, in 2009 the police recorded the lowest level of murders in the last 20 years (see Walker, 2009 p.6); the UK has a model of *community policing which claims to pursue the ideals of policing by public consent* (Wakefield and Fleming, 2009 p.52; Villiers, 2009 p.29). Meanwhile, in Mexico there is a long tradition of *armed police officers*, who do *not enjoy a high level of public trust* (only around 30% are confident in the police according to the World Values Survey 2005-2008), where *fear of victimisation or mistreatment by the police* is widespread (almost 30% according to the ENVEI-2009 survey see CIDE, 2010 p. 36), and which at the time of the research was *in the midst of the worst security crisis and one that was rapidly deteriorating* as a result of endemic and widespread *violent and organised crime* (see Shirk, 2011); and also as the result of the use of the military to combat it (Astorga and Shirk 2010 p.31).

The presence of the military on the streets has been coercive and violent¹⁵; it represents, by definition, “the last *coercive* and maximum resource of power that the Mexican State has” (Moloeznik, 2010a p.1). Furthermore, some scholars have noted that an increasing number of military personnel are being contracted *into the police* (see for example, Astorga and Shirk, 2010 p.48; Moloeznik, 2010a pp. 79-81).

Such contrasting features between the UK and Mexico provide a fascinating backcloth of differing contexts in which to study how police and citizens conceive and understand the nature and impacts of community policing, and particularly of the role of trust between citizens and police in this respect?,

To summarise then, the following *research questions*¹⁶ have formed the focus of this investigation:

1. *What is community policing - and how does it differ from other key approaches of policing?*
2. *What have been the key drivers in recent years for the development and application of community policing?*

¹⁵ Some scholars have labelled this, “the militarization of domestic public security in Mexico” and have noted that *at best* this has brought mixed results (see for example, Astorga and Shirk, 2010 p.31). At worst, it has produced a dramatic increase in human rights violations, contributed to corruption and defection among Mexican military personnel, and unnecessarily escalated the level of conflict and violence producing more violent deaths (Astorga and Shirk, 2010 p.31). Although, given the lack of public trust on the police and their widespread corruption, they are seen as the least worst strategy to combat crime.

¹⁶ The first three research questions are 'foundational' questions for the literature review, and the rest refers to the empirical investigation.

3. *How important as a driver has trust been in the conception of community policing?*
4. *How do police and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing?*
5. *How do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?*
6. *To what extent is there alignment in understanding of community policing between citizens and police?*
7. *How do police and citizens regard the impacts of community policing?*

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

As indicated, the above research questions for this investigation suggest a qualitative and comparative focus –e.g. how do police and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing in different settings. Based on this, and again as already indicated, the chosen research design consisted of four case studies where the methods of data collection were comprised mainly of interviews. The case studies were the primary method, although some field observations were also undertaken specifically involving the collection of data at two public meetings on local policing. The next subsections will summarise the rationale for, and assumptions of, the qualitative case studies, methods of data collection and analysis.

3.3.1. Case studies in qualitative comparative research: notions and purposes

The case studies were chosen to provide the principal units for data gathering and analysis within the overall research design because they were considered most appropriate for the particular research questions being addressed. Yin (2009 p. 9-10) has suggested that for ‘how’ research questions case study methodology has a distinct advantage when looking for explanations on issues that cannot be measured in terms of raw frequencies or statistical incidence. Precisely, because the underlying interest in this thesis has been to examine the views of police and citizens and to seek to understand why they conceive community policing as they do, the research questions in relation to ‘how’ are looking for *meanings that explain their understandings*. None of the questions in this thesis have been of a quantitative analytical nature e.g. they have neither been about how many different conceptions of community policing are held by police and citizens nor about how such conceptions might be used to predict the success of community policing. As Yin (2009 p.9) suggests, for such purposes, surveys would be advantageous. Nor have the purposes of this research been about influencing or controlling behaviours –of police or citizens– nor measuring and evaluating the impacts of community policing, for which purposes, experimental methods are perhaps most appropriate (Yin, 2009 p.9). Neither were life histories considered to provide an apt method for the research because the detailed backgrounds and experiences of samples of police and citizens were hardly central to an appreciation of understandings of community policing (Marshall and Rossman, 2011 p.149). Likewise, narrative inquiry was also discounted as a method because the research was not especially concerned

with the individuals per se but more with the relationships between the individuals, their understandings and their social context (Marshall and Rossman, 2011 p.153).

Yin (2003 p. 13-14) has defined a case study as an empirical inquiry to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident. This, in fact, was the most influential definition of the term 'case study' guiding this investigation and it can be seen in two main aspects. First, the research has examined the empirical side of community policing, within real-life contexts and focusing on the actors considered to be the most key components in its practice: the police and citizens (Oliver and Bartgis, 1998 p. 502). Second, it should be acknowledged that the boundaries between community policing and its context are not clearly evident –for example the limits between community policing and policing as an activity more generally. Some scholars have argued that the boundaries of the social phenomena under investigation are usually taken for granted and this should be considered in any case study (see Yin, 2003 p. 13-14; Lewis, 2004 p. 52; Harper, 1992 pp. 139-142). As has already been acknowledged, community policing is part of policing and this presents one of the first unclear boundaries for this study (Fielding, 2002 p. 150). While some scholars regard community policing as an organisational unit that can be added to or removed from the wider police organisation (see for example, Pakes, 2004), others regard community policing more in philosophical terms and see it as a style that can exude a whole police institution (for example Trojanowicz et al, 2002 p. 19). Another boundary which in practice has been difficult to define neatly is that between police and citizens. Some authors have been critical of such a dichotomy (see for example, Parker, 1956 p. 371)

while others have given significance to the ‘us and them’ experience of policing enforcement practices. A further difficult boundary for this research has been apparent in relation to the concept of ‘community’, which, as stated earlier, can be defined in many ways other than by geography/proximity (see for example, Fielding, 1995 p. 12) and may well mask considerable diversity and heterogeneity between individuals, whether by age, ethnicity, education, wealth, interests, and life experiences (see for example, Crawford, 1997 p. 161; Spalek 2008, p. 95). Finally, there was the tricky boundary referring to the nature of ‘crime’ (and also anti-social behaviour) to be confronted in this research, with some crimes transcending geographical boundaries and not being delimited to any particular local or neighbourhood context. One particular example of this boundary problem for this research concerned the incidence of ‘serious and organised crime’, which tends to transcend national as well as local borders (see for example, Shirk 2011; Chabat 2010; Mathieu and Rodriguez, 2009).

Of course, as with other concepts, what exactly constitutes a case study is often a subject of discussion in research and the boundaries of contexts are precisely one of the matters frequently discussed here. According to Lewis’ conception (2004 p. 52), “the primary defining features of a case study are the multiplicity of perspectives which are rooted in a specific context”. She has argued that the sample needs to be designed around specific context(s), for example, an organisational context (e.g. a police institution). Therefore, as Lewis has argued, even when contexts are difficult to define, some notion of context needs to be specified early in order to select cases (Lewis, 2004 pp. 51-52 and p. 76). Such a conception of a case study illustrates the tension that can exist between conceiving the case study as being rooted in a specific context on the one

hand, and conceiving it without fixed boundaries on the other. For the purposes of this research, that tension was first addressed by starting the sampling process with a fixed notion of context (the geographical settings and the participants to be included). Later, the analysis of the data collected explored the views of police and citizens that often included comments going beyond the boundaries of their own neighbourhoods/areas; they often described crimes/issues because they were important to them (see Lewis, 2004).

Another matter of disagreement among researchers regarding case study methodology is the purpose of it. Some argue that the purpose of such cases is to test hypotheses and draw predictions (see for example, Ragin 1992). But others claim the aim may instead simply be *understanding* of the dimensions of social phenomena from the points of view of individuals who experience it, and that, indeed, is much the position with this research (see Harper, 1992 p. 139; Lewis, 2004; Schaffer 2000).

One more disputed point, particularly concerning qualitative comparative case studies, is the conceptual equivalence of the phenomenon under study. Schaffer (2000), for instance, has argued that case studies that have an interest in the meaning of concepts cannot be fixed 'a priori', because meanings are highly contextualised; they are influenced by linguistic, country, organizations, culture and particular situations. He has argued that to ignore this involves risking neglect of local people's understanding of social phenomena (Schaffer 2000 p. x). Drawing comparisons in terms of meanings becomes a particularly demanding task when dealing with interviewees from two different countries. An initial consideration was the conceptual equivalence for the term

‘community policing’. Based on Osborn’s strategy (2004 p. 271), this term was defined in a broad manner for the purposes of comparing ideas, rather than just labels, in the two countries. Therefore, the definition of community policing that was taken for this thesis, and which resulted in sampling the geographical locations, was: ‘a policing approach that is based on a closer relationship between police and citizens’, which is very similar to Fielding’s definition (2005 p. 460). In order to avoid the researcher imposing a particular label or rigid definition, interviewees were asked for example “what model or approach to policing is operated here?” and following their response, were then asked to describe and define it. A related point of debate among researchers (see for example Gest, 2010 p. 243; Lewis, 2004 p. 264; Patton 2002 p. 346) regarding sampling processes and case study design concerns the need for comparability between samples. Traditionally, the notion of comparable samples has been associated with the notion of theoretical replication (see for example Gest, 2010 p. 243; Lewis, 2004 p. 264) for the purposes of reliable measurement of phenomena (see for example Sartori, 1970). But this is not the focus of this research. Instead, and taking account of Patton’s argument (2002 p. 346), this research used semi-structured interviews as a comparable basis across the sites – in this sense, the views of police and citizens could be compared. Here it is important to bear in mind the ultimate purpose of the study which was to compare conceptions of community policing, understandings of its purposes and impacts from the perspectives of police and citizens rather than to compare ‘external’ aspects of the context – such as levels of crime.

It is also pertinent to appreciate that this conception evolved over the course of the investigation¹⁷. In this sense, Ragin's argument that often researchers will not know exactly what their cases are like until the study is virtually completed seems realistic (see Ragin 1992 p. 6). Indeed, the derivation of the case studies in this thesis can be considered as a key part of the research strategy to understand community policing within specific contexts and through the perspectives of various police and citizen participants. The next section will provide a justification for the qualitative comparison of the concepts, understandings and impacts of community policing.

3.3.2. Justifying the research settings

The UK might well be considered to provide a good example of community policing in the Western World (Pakes, 2004 p. 35). But contrasting the UK with Mexico might be regarded as somewhat strange because the two countries are so different. Indeed, this research might well seem to be at odds with the long tradition of comparing policing models and practices among the so called Western Democracies (e.g. between the USA and the UK).

¹⁷ The conception of what were the case studies about has been modified dramatically on the course of this investigation. Following the longer tradition of comparison of countries, which in part assumes that the more cases the better, I initially looked at countries with different degrees of police decentralization - as an evidence of police-citizen closeness including not only Mexico and the UK but Germany -with mixed levels-, and Switzerland -with high levels. As Walton (1992), I shifted my epistemological position, and gradually the search for structured and "objective" contexts changed for a search of social settings seen through the participant's perspectives.

However, the choice of comparison between Mexico and the UK was not based on any assumption about homogeneity, which in any case, can not reasonably be assumed to be especially characteristic of western democracies either (Zedner, 2003 p. 167). The choice of the UK and Mexico was justified in terms of the potential heterogeneity it offered for research, which in turn, reflects the considerable evidence base suggesting such heterogeneity to be an important characteristic of community policing.

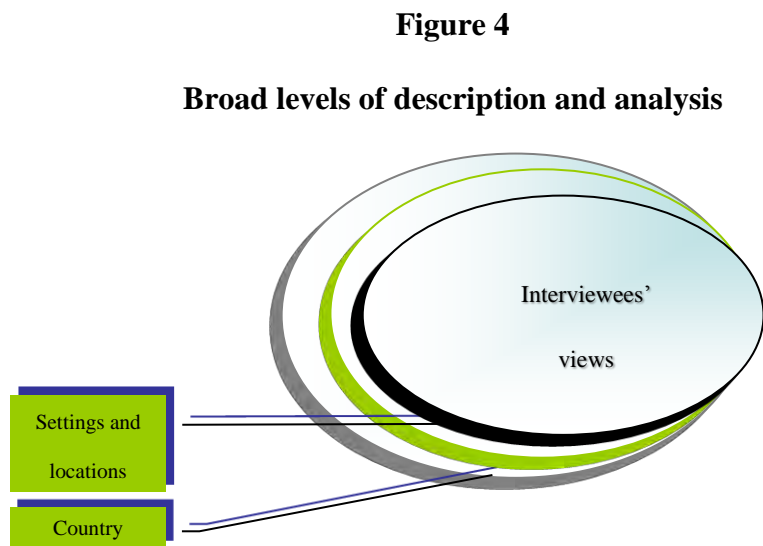
While the researcher acknowledges that there was a subjective choice of methodology regarding the two countries, she considered two factors as well. First, potential criticisms based on the notion of subjectivity would hardly be valid because, as indicated, the criterion of homogeneity when sampling countries is also discretionary and also this research is simply not claiming that it will avoid subjective choices. Second, the choice of Mexico and the UK does not itself imply lack of methodological rigor. Indeed, the choice to compare settings in Mexico and the UK rests on methodological rigour at several levels. As already stated, the research follow principles of social constructivism, it also remains congruent with the considerable amount of theoretical evidence to suggest heterogeneity to be an important characteristic of community-policing, and it adheres to the objectives of qualitative comparisons that help understanding of social phenomena from multiple points of views (see Lewis, 2004 pp. 50-51).

3.3.3. The case studies in the UK and Mexico

As indicated, and in accordance with Lewis' (2004 p. 52) definition, the four case studies that were undertaken in this research were based on interviewees' accounts of their conceptions and understandings of community policing and of the contexts from which they came –i.e. different socio-geographical settings. This means that, methodologically, the interviewees' viewpoints were contextualised by the particular settings in which the respondents worked or lived, and by the administrative 'boundaries' of the four geographical locations chosen: South Birmingham and South Worcestershire in the UK, and Federal District and Centre of State in Mexico. In turn, those locations were of course contextualised within the particular country and culture in which they are located.

The key *elements of the context* in this research, then, were *the interviewees, the specific settings in which the respondents lived and worked and the country/nation state location*. As stated previously, the geographical locations helped to make an initial description of the immediate context surrounding the settings in terms of the types and levels of crime. The country-context of the locations tended to have a limited role in this investigation (each case itself providing the main focus rather than the bigger nation-state comparative issues).

The following figure illustrates the three broad levels of description and analysis, where the interviewees’ views constituted the most important focus, followed by the settings *within* the four locations and finally the country context.



The interviewees’ views might also be thought of as the lenses through which the settings and locations were viewed. The specific settings are described in Table 5 (within the grey squares); they were grouped by country and by the particular locations within each country.

Table 5

Geographical locations and settings within the UK and Mexico

UK	Mexico
<p>South Birmingham</p> <p>Selly Oak, Edgbaston, Bartley Green, and Weoley Castle</p>	<p>Federal District</p> <p>Azcapotzalco, Gustavo A. Madero, Miguel Hidalgo, Cuauhtémoc, Venustiano Carranza, Magdalena Contreras, Benito Juárez, Tlalpan, Coyoacán, Iztacalco, Iztapalapa</p>
<p>South Worcestershire</p> <p>Malvern Hills, Wychavon and Worcester City council areas</p>	<p>Centre of State of Mexico</p> <p>Ecatepec, Toluca, Temoaya, Oxolotepec, Nezahualcóyotl, Chimalhuacán, Chicoloapan, Municipio de la Paz, Xonacatlan, Naucalpan de Juárez</p>

The pairs of case studies (the two from UK – South Birmingham, South Worcestershire, and the two from Mexico – Federal District and Centre State of Mexico) were both chosen because they offered some significant variations in terms of crime patterns, policing priorities and organization of community policing. Officially, policing in South Birmingham was described as having stronger focus on counter-terrorism (see HMIC, 2010), while in South Worcestershire there was a stronger focus on antisocial behavior (see HMIC, 2010b), although both issues had pertinence in each locality. South

Birmingham also offered significantly more diversity in terms of ethnicity of its population (see Abbas, 2006 p.3) which perhaps explained the higher focus on counter-terrorism. In Mexico, on the other hand, the Federal District had adopted community policing as a philosophy which was at the time reshaping the entire police institution (see SSP-DF, 2011). In contrast, the State of Mexico had adopted community policing as a distinct unit in its own right and separate from the other police structures (see ASE, 2011).

Aspects of the background to the four cases are also summarized in statistical terms (see ASE, 2011) in the following section, including measures of public confidence in the police. But it is also important to bear in mind that such statistics, including those of crime, have been understood in this research as social constructions, rather than necessarily as ‘realities’ as some researchers have tended to discuss them (see for example, Radermacher, 2005). It was the potential social meaning of such crime statistics¹⁸ *for the interviewees* rather than the numbers which mattered most in this research. While the crime statistics might have offered useful initial reference points as to how participants might conceive the settings –for example, with police perhaps conceiving their priorities according to their statistics of crime– this was not necessarily the main factor to all participants.

¹⁸ Crime statistics are social constructions that tend to have the following considerations: 1) crimes are not always clear-cut in their characteristics and need significant interpretation by police officers (see Patrick 2009 pp.47-48), 2) some of the crimes can go largely unreported by the public, 3) some “crimes” tend to be more easily measured than others (see Sergeant, 2008), 4) police officers may focus on recording (detecting) certain crimes with the expectation of demonstrating improvement in their performance (see Patrick, 2009 pp. 32-37), 5) crimes occurring in a locality may belong to the jurisdiction of a different police and 6) crimes are likely to be reported in different ways in rural areas than in urban ones (Dingwall, 1999 p. 96).

3.3.3.1. South Birmingham and South Worcestershire

The neighbourhoods of Bartley Green, Weoley Castle, Edgaston and Selly Oak are all in the South Birmingham area. These settings contrast with one another in various ways, for example, Bartley Green and Weoley Castle have been considered among the most deprived¹⁹ neighbourhoods in England, which is not the case of the other locations (see Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007 by The National Archives 2010). The south part of Birmingham is one of the areas²⁰ covered by the West Midlands Police force. *The total recorded crime by the West Midlands Police between September 2009 and September 2010 was of 216,223* (Home Office 2010). The rate of crime per 1,000 population is 83²¹. In decreasing order, from that total of crimes (216, 223), the most frequent were: violence against the person (44,624), other theft offences –such as personal property– (40,363), criminal damage (36,749), burglary (33,377) and offences against vehicles (29,536) (Home Office 2010). West Midlands Police force is responsible for tackling *high levels of threat from serious crimes and terrorism* in a territory highly urbanized and with significant presence of minorities groups (HMIC, 2010).

The districts of Malvern Hills, Wychavon and Worcester City are in the South Worcestershire area. Comparing the three settings, neighbourhoods and parishes in

¹⁹ Deprived neighborhoods tend to be those with high levels of crime, low income, low employment, health deprivation and disability, low education, low skills and training, barriers to housing and services, poor living environment – see Index of Deprivation 2007 by The National Archives 2010.

²⁰ Besides Birmingham, the West Midlands Police covers Coventry, Wolverhampton, Sandwell, Walsall, Solihull and Dudley; in total it serves a population of almost 2.6 million and a flow population of around 170,000 people who travel through the region daily, making its motorways some of the busiest in Europe (West Midlands Police 2010).

²¹ Calculated with 2.6 million population.

Malvern Hills are, overall, the least deprived, although they are not without pockets of disadvantage. Wychavon comes next in terms of deprivation, but again is mostly a relatively wealthy area, and then Worcester (see Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007 by The National Archives, 2010). South Worcestershire forms part of a much larger area that is policed by²² the West Mercia Police force. The total recorded crime by the West Mercia Police between September 2009 and September 2010 was of 70,587 (Home Office 2010). The rate of crime per 1,000 population is 59²³. In decreasing order, from that total of crimes (70,587), the most frequent were: other theft offences –such as personal property– (17,479), violence against the person (14,040), criminal damage (13,709), burglary (9,157) and offences against vehicles (8,070) (Home Office, 2010). Besides these crimes, a particular priority for West Mercia Police has been *anti-social behaviour across an area* which combines rural and highly densely populated areas (HMIC, 2010b).

Despite the differences in levels of crime between South Birmingham and South Worcestershire, differences with regard to public confidence in the police have been less apparent, at least at force-wide aggregated levels. Based on the results of the British Crime Surveys (2007/08 and 2008/09), a report of Her Majesty Inspectorate Constabulary in 2010 shows that the people served both by the West Midlands Police

²² Besides Worcestershire, the West Mercia Police Force covers Herefordshire, Shropshire, Telford and Wrekin, (West Mercia, 2010).

²³ Calculated with 1,191,800 million population.

and by West Mercia Police, rated as ‘fair’ their confidence in them (HMIC, 2010; HMIC, 2010b)²⁴.

3.3.3.2. Federal District and the Centre of the State of Mexico

The boroughs of Azcapotzalco, Gustavo A. Madero, Miguel Hidalgo, Cuauhtémoc, Venustiano Carranza, Magdalena Contreras, Benito Juárez, Tlalpan, Coyoacán, Iztacalco, Iztapalapa constitute most of the Federal District (being eleven of sixteen²⁵ areas that comprise it). The settings with the highest levels of crime in 2009 were Gustavo A. Madero, Cuauhtémoc and Iztapalapa, whereas Magdalena Contreras was one of the areas with the lowest levels of crime in the Federal District (PGJDF, 2009).

The Federal District –also called Mexico City – is covered by the Police of the Federal District. The total crime in the Federal District has traditionally been recorded by a different police department in charge of investigating crimes –called Procuraduría General de Justicia del Distrito Federal– which in 2009 reported that the *total number of crimes was 188,297* (SESNSP, 2009 p. 10). As these statistics have been used for the design of policies to address crime, they are still considered a potential source of meaning for the Federal District Police. The rate of crime per 1,000 population is 21²⁶.

²⁴ This evaluation was made in a scale considering three levels: excellent/good, fair and poor. ‘Fair’ means that performance is variable, falls short of the expectations and therefore, remedial action is needed (HMIC, 2010 p.5). People’s confidence in the West Midlands and West Mercia Police reflects the extent to which they think police are dealing with the things that matter to people in their community (HMIC, 2010c).

²⁵ The other four areas covered by the Federal District Police are: Xochimilco, Tláhuac, Cuajimalpa and Milpa Alta.

²⁶ Calculated with 8, 851, 080 population (Inegi, 2010).

In decreasing order, from the total of crimes (188,297), the most frequent were: theft/robbery (97,825), other crimes –which included crimes against the person– (32,870), injuries caused by objects/weapons (24,834), and damage to other's property (29,886). The Police of the Federal District are responsible for a territory with urban and rural areas but are not responsible for organised crime– this is legal competence of the Federal Police (see DOF, 2009).

The municipalities of Ecatepec, Toluca, Temoaya, Oxolotepec, Nezahualcoyotl, Chimalhuacan, Chicoloapan, Municipio de la Paz, Xonacatlan, Naucalpan de Juárez form the Centre of the State of Mexico. Nezahualcoyotl has one of the highest levels of crime, and additionally has been characterised historically by very poor relationships between police and citizens (see Sliva, 2009). The Centre of the State of Mexico is covered by the police of the State of Mexico responsible for the whole state. The total recorded crime in the State of Mexico is recorded by a separate police force that is in charge of investigating crimes –called Procuraduría General de Justicia del Estado de Mexico– which in 2009 reported a *total of 269,927 crimes* (SESNSP, 2009 p.16). As these statistics are used for the design of policies to address crime, they are still considered a potential source of meaning for the State of Mexico Police. The rate of crime per 1,000 population is 18²⁷. In decreasing order, from the total of crimes (269,927), the most frequent were: theft/robbery (111,385), other crimes– which include crimes against the person– (74,641) and injuries caused by objects/weapons (50,201). The Police of the State of Mexico are responsible for a territory with urban and rural

²⁷ Calculated with 15,175,862 population (Inegi, 2010).

areas but are not responsible for organised crime, here too this is legal competence of the Federal Police (see DOF, 2009).

In respect of public confidence (or more particularly here, in terms of satisfaction with the police) the differences between the two Mexican locations is not large, at least at the aggregated level. In 2009, citizen satisfaction²⁸ with the Federal District Police was just above 4, whereas citizen satisfaction with the State of Mexico Police was just below 4; on a scale of 1 to 10 (CIDE, 2010 p. 44)²⁹.

Having described the cases that have comprised the focus of this research and the main differences between them in terms of social issues, crime patterns and public confidence, the next subsection will describe the main data collection processes for the interviews with police and citizens.

3.4. INTERVIEW DATA COLLECTION: INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT

As indicated, the research has been based mainly on interviews, the main reason being that these were considered “particularly well suited for studying people’s understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-

²⁸ The level of citizen satisfaction is primarily used in this survey to assess the preventive police performance (which is the police who are not in charge of conducting investigations), whereas the level of *citizen confidence* is used to assess the investigative police –in Spanish Ministerio Público, in charge of conducting investigations (see CIDE, 2010 p. 61).

²⁹ The rate of 4/10 means that the performance of the police is deficient (CIDE, 2010 p. 44). People’s satisfaction in the Federal District Police and the State of Mexico Police reflects the extent to which they think police are dealing with public protection regarding crime, visibility –patrolling –, time of response, and respect (CIDE, 2010 p. 44).

understanding...” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009 p. 116). Interviews allowed the police and citizens to convey their conceptions and experiences of community policing in their own terms (see Kvale, 2007 p.10). Another reason for this choice of method was that an interview format, as opposed to a questionnaire for example, would provide the opportunity for the researcher to clarify any of the responses provided by the respondents if the remarks were not immediately clear. A further reason was that the particular research questions involved some complex topics that were best explored in a conversational and probing manner, for which a semi-structured interview format seemed most appropriate. Finally, it is important to confirm that this same format was used in the interviews across all four sites and in this way helped to ensure equivalence of structure for comparison (see Patton, 2002 p. 346). The link between the protocol of the interview and *the research questions for the empirical part of this investigation* –and which corresponded with four of the seven research questions– is shown in the following table:

Table 6

Protocol of the interview according to research questions³⁰

Research Questions	Protocol of the interview
(Questions to commence the interview)	Could you describe the area or neighbourhood in which you do your policing? For example, would you say it has low, medium or high levels of crime? What kinds of crimes are most common?
	What model or approach to policing is operated here?
R.Q. 4. How do police	In a few sentences, how would you best describe the notion of community

³⁰ The research questions 1 to 3 guided the literature review, therefore this table only shows research questions from 4 to 7, which correspond to the fieldwork of this investigation.

Research Questions	Protocol of the interview
and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing?	policing (or respective name given)?
	What would you regard as the most important words and ideas underlying the concept of community policing (or respective name given)?
	What do you regard as the main objectives or priorities in community policing?
	What do you regard as the main objectives or priorities in community policing in your area?
	Considering that the context is different in each neighbourhood, could you tell me which particular aspects you consider the most important in developing community policing so it can achieve its aims?
R.Q. 7. How do police and citizens regard the impacts of community policing?	What would you say have been among the most notable success of implementing community policing (in this area)? Could you give me concrete examples?
	What would you say have been among the most notable failures of implementing community policing (in this area)? Could you give me concrete examples?
R. Q. 5. How do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?	Do you think that trust between citizens and the police has been affected by community policing? Could you give some examples?
	In few words or sentences, how would you define the concept of trust in community policing?
	In few words or sentences, how would you define the concept of trust in the police?
	How would you define trust in residents?
	What do you consider to be the role of 'trust' between police and citizens in the context of community policing?
	Can you give me some examples of where interaction between police and people was disadvantaged by a lack of trust?
	To what extent would you say that trust between police and local citizens is a prerequisite for addressing the local needs?

Research Questions	Protocol of the interview
	Which would be the main challenges for a trustful relationship between police and residents in this area?
	How would you say that trust is built between residents and police officers at the neighbourhood level?
R. Q. 6. To what extent is there alignment in understanding of community policing between citizens and police?	To what extent do you expect residents to provide useful information so that police can achieve their aims? (question only for police officers)
	To what extent do you expect residents to share the same priorities of the police? For example in terms of reducing crime in this area? (question for police officers) / To what extent do you expect police to share your priorities? (question for citizens)

As the above table shows, the semi-structured interviews were based on some 20 questions in total. These were developed directly from the research questions, and were phrased in ways that invited interviewees to define, to describe and to illustrate their understandings of community policing of the role of trust in that context, and of its impacts. The full interview protocol can be seen at Annex 1.

The final design of the interview schedule also benefited from an initial pilot study that was conducted with seventeen interviewees in the West Midlands area. These pilots interviews were based closely on the key research questions – and in fact comprised a topic guide of six questions through which respondents discussed their conceptions of community policing, its key characteristics, purposes and the role of trust in that context. Directly as a result of the learning from the pilots, two further subject areas for questions were added to the format – these being about respondents’ local settings and

about the impacts of community policing (in terms of perceived successes and shortcomings) respectively.

The detailed phraseology of the schedule was also revised slightly somewhat to ensure linguistic equivalence between the English and Spanish versions – and reflecting the limits and subtleties of each language. One example of this concerned the concept of trust, which in English (OED) means “to believe in the reliability, truth, or ability of” as well as “allow someone to have, use, or look after (someone or something of importance or value) with confidence”, words and phrases that needed care and special attention in the Spanish language, because the terms ‘confidence’ and ‘trust’, for instance, in Spanish share a single word – ‘confianza’. Moreover, while in the UK the words trust and confidence are used both at a generalised/aggregate level (e.g. public confidence or public trust) as well as at an individual level (e.g. trust in a particular person or confidence in a particular outcome), in Spanish, the equivalent word ‘confianza’ allows for no such distinction. Partly to ensure that such linguistic issues did not lead to misunderstandings in the interviews, respondents were frequently invited to provide examples of what they were discussing so that the researcher could check their meaning and be confident about her understanding of the points being made.

3.5. DATA COLLECTION: INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2009³¹ on a face-to-face basis and with a total of 52 participants³² While the sampling was not designed specifically to be demonstrably representative of the local practice of community policing in each country or locality, considerable care was taken to build diversity into the samples, so that the interviews would reflect a range of perspectives on the subjects being examined. This was done in two ways: by a snowballing technique to identify police and citizen interviewees in the same local area and by stratifying the samples, in the case of the police to ensure different ranks and roles, and for citizens by seeking respondents of varying socioeconomic status and ages. The snowballing technique was particularly useful in facilitating relatively easy access to the group of respondents – which could otherwise have been quite a difficult task, especially perhaps regarding citizen interviewees from hard-to-reach groups, (and particularly perhaps given the sensitivities surrounding crime issue in Mexico; see for example, Penrod and Preston, 2003).

³¹ Virtually all the interviews corresponding to the UK were conducted in Summer 2009 and the corresponding interviews in Mexico were conducted towards the end of the same year.

³² Eleven participants in South Birmingham (eight members of the West Midlands Police Force from top levels in the hierarchy to street level; and three citizens, among them one was a citizen representative). Ten participants in South Worcestershire (seven members of the West Mercia Police from top levels in the hierarchy to street level; and three citizens, among them two were citizen representatives). Eighteen participants in the Federal District (fourteen police officers from top levels in the hierarchy to street level; and four citizens, among them two were citizen representatives). Thirteen in the Centre of the State of Mexico (eleven members of the Police Force in the State of Mexico from top levels in the hierarchy to street level; and two citizens).

The selection of interviewees in the UK – South Birmingham and South Worcester – commenced with a small number of police officers who were studying at the University of Birmingham and who put the researcher in touch with a further group of officers of various rank/seniority. They, in turn, suggested particular community representatives who they felt might be approached as potentially willing citizen interviewees for the research. In the Federal District and the State of Mexico equivalent access was gained through requests made to the Head Police Officers and for them to propose police colleagues for interview; while some of the citizen interviewees were identified at public meetings and from there through further ‘snowballing’ means. The care taken to ensure diversity in the sample, as described above, was considered important in compensating for any potential bias and homogeneity effects of the snowballing technique (see for example, Renzetti and Lee, 1993).

All interviewees were assured of anonymity in the research, which was obviously important in facilitating free expression of views, especially so in view of the sensitivities of the subject (and not least in Mexico, given the high levels of tension between police and communities in many local areas there). In fact, two citizens approached in the Mexican samples declined to be interviewed; both stating that they did not wish to participate because of the sensitivities about police-community relations (one of them, a man in his fifties, commenting that “at this time, it is dangerous to talk about the police”). Each interview was recorded with the consent of the participants and lasted not less than half an hour. Most of the interviews with police officers took place in their local police stations while most of the interviews with residents took place at their residences or places of work. Transcriptions were subsequently prepared of each

interview, including indicators of mood or attitude (e.g. laughter, pauses, and other such identifiers of respondents' emotions).

In addition to the interviews, field observations were made at two open public meetings attended by the police and residents— one in Mexico and one in the UK. While these formed an essentially secondary role to the one-to-one interviews in the research, being of value in revealing additional views and concerns about community policing (see Dean and Whyte, 2003, p. 352) and in providing further insight and context for the study.

The public meetings which were observed were both in high crime neighbourhoods (one in South Birmingham, the other in the Federal District). In total, 22 participants were present at the South Birmingham meeting and some 12 at the Federal District meeting. Undertaking this further field work was especially valuable as the two meetings provided a chance to observe first hand exactly how the police consulted with the public and how communities held the police to account for their actions/inaction (Bennett, 1994 p. 234).

3.6. METHODS OF DATA PREPARATION AND ANALYSIS

Clearly there are always a number of detailed operational issues to be considered concerning data preparation and analysis in any qualitative case study work, and particularly around respecting the interpretation of the information gathered and integrity on the part of the investigator in analysing it (see for example, Merriam, 2009

p.52). Indeed, Guba and Lincoln (1981 p.378) have highlighted the point that an unethical case writer could be selective in his/her choice and that “virtually anything he wished could be illustrated”. Accordingly, this section on methods of data preparation and analysis is important in explaining and justifying the particular methods used in this research and particularly focuses on the approach used subsequent to the gathering of responses for coding and cross-case analysis. These two methods of analysis were employed to provide a suitably structured approach to the management of the four case studies, and for handling the data from the interviews. These two methods complemented one another in that the coding approach prepared the data into a manageable format for the cross-case analysis and then allowed an iterative analysis to be undertaken.

The approach to coding consisted of identifying all the passages from a transcript of an individual interview that related to a particular thematic idea and which were then assigned a code as a shorthand reference for the thematic idea (see Gibbs, 2007 p. 24). The data coding was undertaken in two steps. First, the transcriptions of each interviewee were organised according to the specific geographical location and the country. Then the responses of each interviewee were coded according to each question in the interview; this allowed identifying preliminary themes. The following table illustrates the way in which the information was organised.

Table 7

Organising data according to interview questions to identify preliminary codes

Interview Questions	Mexico		UK	
	Federal District ³³	State of Mexico ³⁴	South Birmingham ³⁵	South Worcestershire ³⁶
1. Could you describe the area or neighbourhood in which you do your policing? For example, would you say it has low, medium or high levels of crime? What kinds of crimes are most common?	Interviewee's transcriptions 1 to 18	Interviewee's transcriptions 19-31	Interviewee's transcriptions 32-42	Interviewee's transcriptions 43-52
Questions from 2 to 20 ↓	Interviewee's transcriptions 1 to 18	Interviewee's transcriptions 19-31	Interviewee's transcriptions 32-42	Interviewee's transcriptions 43-52

The preliminary codes were then subjected to various phases of revision (approximately seven index of codes were developed), until they formed nine core categories which

³³ There were eighteen participants in the Federal District (fourteen police officers and four citizens), this is why the table points "transcriptions 1- 18".

³⁴ There were thirteen in the Centre of the State of Mexico (eleven from the police force and two citizens), this is why the table points "transcriptions 19-31".

³⁵ There were eleven participants in South Birmingham (eight from the police force and three citizens), this is why the table points "transcriptions 32-42".

³⁶ Ten participants in South Worcestershire (seven police from the police force and three citizens), this is why the table points "transcriptions 43-52".

then were used to restructure the data of each interview. Synopses of each of the interviews (i.e all 52) were then compiled based on the nine core categories. These respondent synopses linked the quotes made by each interviewee to the nine categories (and subcategories). The following table shows the nine core categories that served to organise the information on the transcripts which then took the form of individual respondent synopses.

Table 8
Core categories that guided the elaboration of individual synopsis

Core categories	Mexico		UK	
	Federal District	C. State of Mexico	South Birmingham	South Worcestershire
Drivers of community policing	Interviewee's synopsis 1 to 18	Interviewee's synopsis 19-31	Interviewee's synopsis 32-42	Interviewee's synopsis 43-52
Definition of community policing	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52
Conception and objectives/priorities of community policing	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52
Ways to get closer to the citizens	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52
Challenges of community policing	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52
Successes of community policing	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52
Conception and objectives/purposes of	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52

Core categories	Mexico		UK	
	Federal District	C. State of Mexico	South Birmingham	South Worcestershire
trust				
Conception of trust in residents	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52
Challenges of trust	S. 1 to 18	S. 19-31	S. 32-42	S. 43-52

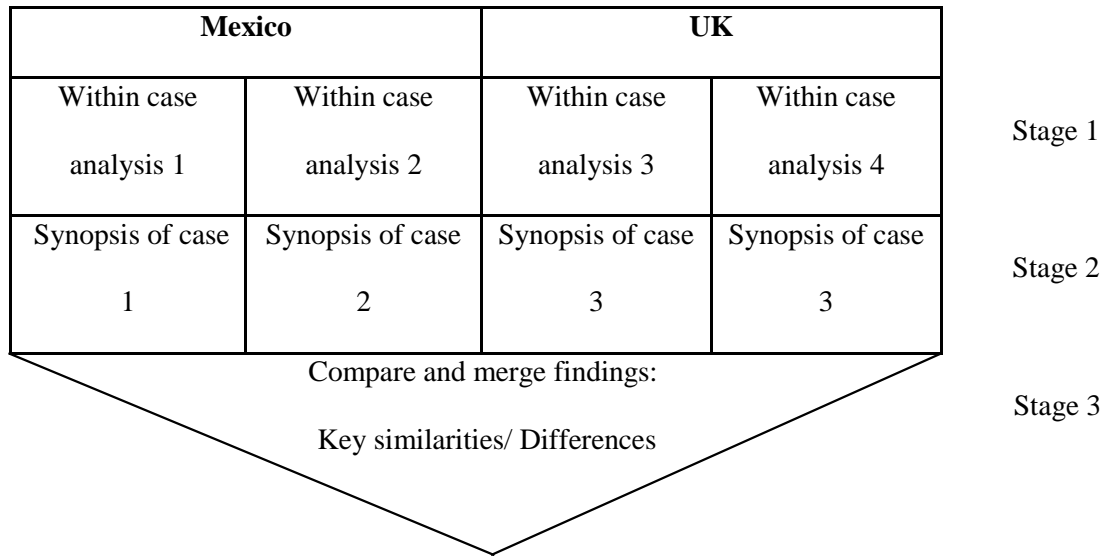
* S. means synopsis

Two key benefits arose from using this method of analysis. First, it facilitated the organisation of large amounts of data, and second, it facilitated making initial comparisons among different interviewees (see Charmaz, 2000 p. 515). In this respect, the codes not only captured the overall diversity of views but sometimes also included contrasting views on the same theme in question (for example, whether the objective of community policing was seen as dealing with petty and non-criminal issues only, or alternatively, as dealing with crime as its main purpose).

Once the respondent synopses were compiled, the second method of analysis was undertaken. This involved cross- case analysis and consisted of three main stages. The first one involved the analysis of *each respondent synopsis* to identify and group the most relevant characteristics for each *case*: South Birmingham, South Worcestershire, Federal District, and Centre of the State of Mexico. The second consisted of writing a ‘case-study synopsis’ *for each of the four localities*. The third stage consisted of comparing the case-study synopses. Here, the key similarities and differences between the cases were highlighted and the following figure illustrates the stages of the cross-case analysis.

Figure 5

Stages of the cross-case analysis



Two of the most important advantages of using cross-case analysis were that, on the one hand, it helped to ensure against the drawing of premature conclusions and on the other, it reduced ‘bias’ in the interpretation of the data (see Eisenhartdt, 1989; Merriam 2009 p.52). The potential for ‘bias’ was carefully considered in terms of both the manifest-literal and the latent-hidden meaning of the interviewees, a subject that has aroused much debate among scholars with regards to the best approach to follow (Miller and Fox 1999; Glaser 2002; Charmaz 2000).³⁷ In this respect, there are on-going debates,

³⁷ Regarding that debate, some scholars suggest that looking for the latent-hidden meanings may be seen as discounting the participant's main expressions and therefore as violating the principle of constructivism of the portrayal of subjects experience (see for example, Miller and Fox, 1999; Glaser, 2002; Charmaz, 2000). At the same time, however, other scholars acknowledge that the researcher anyway influences in some degree the views of the participants while reporting on and analysing those views (see for example, Miller and Fox, 1999; Glaser 2002; Charmaz, 2000); this is also argued to affect the original-true view of the interviewee and, in an extreme form, one could assume that the influence of the researcher could be so significant as to be reporting *only* her own views rather than that of the participants (see for example, Miller and Fox 1999; Glaser 2002 p. 1).

and not only within social constructivism³⁸, about how to deal with manifest-direct meanings (i.e. ‘true’ portrayals of the participants’ meanings) as opposed to latent-hidden meanings (i.e. non-true portrayals).

The aim within the particular methodology of this thesis was to look for balance between the ‘manifest-literal’ and the ‘latent-hidden’ meaning. In principle, the views of the interviewees were thus treated as indications of how they viewed community policing ‘literally’ and the questions of the interviews were framed in such a way as to ascertain their views and meanings in the literal sense. For example, the question “how would you best describe the notion of community policing?” is a question which would be looking specifically for the manifest-literal meaning. Accordingly, this research attempted to unravel hidden meanings when they seemed of key significance, for example, when citizens made claims about the ‘hidden’ goals of the police (i.e. to increase the number of arrests essentially to improve their performance targets rather than to improve the quality of life for the community); or when the interviewees made claims that were not particularly clear or explicit, but yet when the overall message clearly suggested some tensions between police and citizens’ perspectives.

³⁸ On one side of the debate there are scholars such as Barney Glaser (postpositivist) and on the other scholars like Kathy Charmaz (constructivist). Barney Glaser along with Anselm Strauss developed the traditional form of grounded theory, which ontologically can be seen to be postpositivist (Glaser 2002; Mills et al 2006). Glaser (2002) has engaged in the debates above mentioned which reflect the epistemological tensions between postpositivism and constructivism. On the other hand, scholars such as Miller and Fox (1999) who are constructivists display some of the unresolved issues within constructivism regarding the ‘true’ portrayals of the participants versus non-true portrayals of the participants. This is an ongoing debate that needs to be considered when looking at the analysis of the data.

3.7. ETHICS

Research of this nature was bound to raise a number of difficult ethical issues (Smyth and Williamson, 2001, p. 11) and one such key dilemma was the provision of ethical protection for the interviewees. As suggested before, particularly in the case of Mexico, the theme of community safety and security is a sensitive one, and as Renzetti and Lee (1993 p. 4) have argued, one that “potentially poses for those involved a substantial threat” in one or more of three ways: 1) when the study becomes an intrusive threat to stressful areas, 2) when the study involves data that could incriminate or stigmatise the subjects of study and 3) when the study relates to controversial issues. Discussion of security in any context might be regarded as potentially sensitive, but doing so in Mexico in recent years would be especially so, since all three such notions of threat would seem to apply.

At the same time, both in the UK and Mexico, there was the ethical dilemma of how to preserve individual confidentiality while at the same time needing sufficient information about respondents’ positions and other background characteristics to support the analysis. The general approach adopted for addressing such problems involved ensuring confidentiality by anonymising all quotes from the interviewees and also by being careful in the use of any particular quotations that might risk identifying an interviewee, for example, to fellow interviewees (see Stark and Hedgecoe, 2010 p.596). At the same time, all information provided in confidence (off the record by an

interviewee) remained undisclosed to other interviewees to preserve the trust ‘pact’ between each interviewee and the researcher.

One other ethical dilemma that had to be confronted concerned the process of establishing rapport with each individual respondent (recognising that some might want more background explanation, care and sensitivity by way of introduction) while at the same time treating all the interviewees in as standard manner as possible to ensure an equivalent interview experience. For example, in order to gain access to potential respondents in three of the localities, and then seeking their individual consent to be interviewed, the researcher needed to explain the purposes of the study, her status as a doctoral researcher at the University of Birmingham, and also something of her professional experience in Mexico which had previously included working with the police in the Federal District. However, to gain equivalent access to police interviewees in one of the four areas - the Central State of Mexico – the researcher was required to provide a written copy of the full schedule of questions several hours ahead of each interview. Attempts to circumvent this requirement (in order to ensure a common process for all four localities) drew a blank, and it was indeed necessary to comply with the requirement in order for the fieldwork there to progress. Happily, however, this procedural difference did not appear to have had any significant effect on the pattern of responses given by interviewees in the Central State of Mexico.

3.8. REFLECTIONS ON THE METHODOLOGY

Reflexivity can be understood as introspection that promotes critical awareness of how knowledge is created (D'Cruz et al, 2007 p.79). Seibold (2001 p.154) a constructivist theorist, has provided a series of helpful consciousness-raising questions for researchers – inviting them to consider how their interactions with participants might have affected the nature and course of the research. In this context, some of the particularly significant reflections from this particular study related to the researcher's status as a young, single woman, studying as an international student from Mexico for her doctorate in the UK.

By studying in the UK, the researcher 'became a foreigner' and experienced first-hand what it can be like to be regarded by others as 'different' (and as part of a so called 'minority group'). The researcher's experience in this respect allowed her to become aware of just how important language can be and how particular words can acquire different meanings for different social groups and in different locations where they are used. Some of these experiences invoked an augmented sense of relativity in social norms and concepts between individuals. At the same time it could perhaps be said that that the researcher's situation as a foreigner may have facilitated the giving of consent for the interviews. Certainly, she often sensed that the international student status benefited somewhat in creating a relatively lesser sense of threat and a desire to support learning and create a good impression for international relations – in the UK, through helping an overseas student, on the one hand, and in Mexico, by assisting a student from the UK. In this context, it is perhaps also pertinent to suggest that Mexico's security

problems seemed somehow to make UK policing appear more successful than perhaps it deserved to be considered, this in turn possibly having a favourable effect in terms of willingness to participate.

It must also be said that the researcher's status as a young female probably also played its part in facilitating consent to be interviewed by many of the individuals – particularly in the predominantly male context of policing. As Gomez-Cespedes (1999) has commented, this is likely to have created a favourable impact on the interviewees in the sense that the researcher would probably have been perceived as relatively unthreatening and the interview as providing a potentially pleasant interlude from the usual routines of the day.

Finally, regarding the researcher's prior knowledge as a potential influence on the research process and the conclusions drawn, it is important to explain that the researcher has both an academic background and professional experience in criminal justice in Mexico. She is a psychologist, which in part, accounted for her interest to understand the personal meanings and perspectives of police and citizens. She also has seven years of experience in working in the public sector in Mexico, including for an agency in the Federal District, where she was in charge of monitoring the performance of the police. In 2007, she acted as a consultant both for that agency at the Federal District and also for the Human Rights Commission of the Federal District. In retrospect, it might be said that her situation and experience placed her between two perspectives – on the one hand, the police: (dominated by statistics and other indicators of performance) and, on the other, citizens (in the form of a concern with complaints against the police through the

Human Rights Commission). With those reflections on the chosen methodology thus proffered, it is now time to turn to the findings of the empirical research which are covered in the succeeding three chapters (chapters 4, 5 and 6).

CHAPTER 4

PURPOSES AND PRIORITIES OF COMMUNITY POLICING AND THE ROLES OF TRUST: CITIZENS AND POLICE VIEWS

Introduction

Having established the methodology for this thesis this first chapter of three covering the main findings and analysis is concerned with the views of police and citizens regarding the purposes of community policing and the roles of trust. In this sense, it addresses the following two research questions:

- a) How do police and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing? and*
- b) How do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?*

One idea underpinning the investigation was that police and citizens' perceptions regarding the purposes and priorities of community policing would likely be closely linked with their conceptions of the concept. This, given that scholars quite often refer to the purposes of community policing when defining the concept (see for example, Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.1; Fielding, 2005 p. 460; Merrit and Dingwall, 2010 p. 389; Sparrow, 1988 p. 1-2; Novak et al, 2003 p. 57). As demonstrated in Chapter 2, there is lack of consensus about the nature of the concept of community policing and also about the range of expectations, this research considers that this is largely explained given the different contexts. This chapter summarises the main findings from the interviews with police and citizens in the four localities (South Birmingham and South Worcestershire in the UK and the Federal District and the Centre of State in Mexico)

and looks at the significance of context in shaping expectations about the purposes and priorities of community policing.

Although several scholars have asserted that police and citizens are likely to have differing expectations from one another with regard to the priorities of community policing, and will understand its purposes in differing ways (O'shea, 2000; Thacher, 2001a p. 766; Wilson and Kelling, 1982), the literature review undertaken for the thesis identified no empirical research which has examined this proposition in any rigorous and comparative manner. This, then, provided an important line of investigation for the fieldwork in the chosen localities in the UK and Mexico, respectively.

Within this investigation, the role of trust in community policing was also closely examined which, as seen in Chapter 2, it has given much prominence in the literature (see for example, Trojanowicz et al, 2002; Friedmann 1992). This chapter, therefore, particularly examines the ways in which police and citizens understand and view the concept of community policing and the roles of trust and, again, considers the significance of 'context' here (see Wrede, 2010 p. 89).

The chapter is organised in three broad sections as follows: first, the interviewees' perceptions of their local geographical and socio-criminological contexts are summarised; second, their perspectives on the purposes and priorities of community policing are examined; and third, their views on the role and significance of trust are explored, with particular respect to the relationship with context.

4.1. PERCEPTIONS OF CONTEXT

In Chapter 3, statistical profiles of criminality were summarised for each of the four localities chosen for this research. However, alongside these, and to be considered here, are the qualitative accounts and perceptions of the neighbourhoods as provided by the police and citizens, respectively³⁹. Those qualitative accounts refer to issues of crime (in Mexico they also refer to organised crime) and other non-crime issues that ultimately impact the notion of safety and well-being of the interviewees. In the subsections below, responses from the four locations are considered, before summarising in overall terms the main similarities and contrasts in a comparative analysis.

4.1.1. Perceptions of the context of community policing: South Birmingham

Most of the crime types recorded in official police statistics for South Birmingham (for example, for robbery, burglary, vehicle theft and so on) were mentioned in various comments made by the interviewees (police and citizens). However, while the official crime statistics for the locality clearly indicate an area with relatively high crime rates (see Home Office, 2010)⁴⁰, perceptions of criminality among the police and citizens interviewed were rather more varied. The perspectives of one senior police officer, for example, provided a particularly up-beat and positive portrait by making allowances for its urban setting, by drawing (favourable) comparisons with other metropolitan areas

³⁹ The perceptions of police and citizens in this subsection correspond to the answers given to a simple question asked of all interviewees, how would you describe your area? (for the police, as a place of work, or, for citizens, as a place of residence).

⁴⁰ The total recorded crime by the West Midlands Police between September 2009 and September 2010 was of 216,223 (this includes Birmingham), which contrasts with the 70,587 recorded by the West Mercia Police, which includes Worcestershire (Home Office, 2010).

and by emphasising the progress he felt had been made in recent years in reducing levels of criminality, as follows:

“Birmingham is probably, in terms of being a metropolitan area, one of the safest areas in the UK, if compared with other similar areas in terms of volume of crime... we have, as any other city environment, crimes such as car theft, burglaries, robberies, violent crimes a lot of them alcohol related, assaults, so the usual crime that you might expect in the area. But actually in terms of how we have performed in the last years, we have been very successful in crime reduction. We are one of the most successful forces in the UK in terms of deployment strategies that has actually cut crime” (Assistant Chief Constable in South Birmingham).

Yet a distinctly different view was provided by one of the citizens interviewed in this locality, who emphasised the on-going problem of fear of crime in the area as follows:

“Crime has gone down but communities didn’t feel any safer, in fact, often felt less safe because of political wrangles about (crime) statistics...Police need to actually address people’s fear of crime, as well as crime itself giving proper feedback to the community of what it is being done to respond to their needs and their priorities” (Citizen who was also a Councillor Representative on the West Midlands Police Authority)

The perception of this citizen, then, was that irrespective of the trends in official statistics, people in the locality did not feel safe and were fearful of becoming victims of

crime. People's fear of crime and crime itself were as far as he was concerned, two separate issues, and in contrast with the Assistant Chief Constable's perspective, the police were failing to address the needs of the citizens (there is not necessary a dependent relationship between crime reduction and people's feeling of safety). The two quotes suggest two different understandings about the notion of community safety which were also identifiable in the accounts of other interviewees. While police officers would tend to centre their understanding in terms of reduction of crime, citizens would often understand community safety in wider social terms, and particularly in relation to the nuisance and antisocial behaviour- which would not appear in official crime statistics. At the heart of the differing perspectives here, it could be argued that there is a 'subjective-objective dichotomy' of some of the issues; while the police tend to regard public fears as subjective and crime as objective, many citizens feel public fear to be the real issue and the official crime statistics as neither plausible nor sufficiently relevant to this. This all illustrates the fundamental gap in understanding between police and citizens about the circumstances that community policing might be expected to address.

Indeed, this subject of crime versus anti-social behaviour was identified as the key dimension underlying differing perspectives of police and citizens regarding community policing in South Birmingham locality. A police officer in the locality, for example, commented on the ambiguities surrounding the concept of antisocial behaviour as follows:

“Antisocial behaviour takes many forms, for example, neighbour versus neighbour anti-social behaviour where I don't like you and live next to you,

so I report you for problems and you report me for problems; or youth nuisance where if you speak to the young people, they will say they're being social because they're hanging around with their friends and they've got nowhere to go, they hang around on street corners with their friends, it's the classic thing" (Police Inspector in South Birmingham)

As the officer went on to elaborate, while addressing antisocial behaviour may help reduce many people's fears, doing so, can also confuse and exacerbate problems between the police and young people or other members of the community. Views about *what* it is to be 'antisocial' and about *who* is best placed to judge, can, the officer suggested, differ markedly between younger and older residents and this, in turn, can leave the police with difficult judgements to make and which are likely to be less than satisfactory for everyone.

4.1.2 Perceptions of the context of community policing: South Worcestershire

In comparison with South Birmingham, the crime profile for South Worcestershire suggests a geographical area which has comparatively low⁴¹ levels of crime. This, indeed, was recognised by several of the interviewees in the locality who understood the numbers of thefts, robberies burglaries to be generally low, and also the incidence of antisocial behaviour. The following was the description made by a police officer:

⁴¹ The total recorded crime by the West Mercia Police between September 2009 and September 2010 was of 70,587, which is a low level of crimes in comparison to the recorded crimes of other forces in the country (Home Office 2010); this includes Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Telford and Wrekin (West Mercia, 2010).

“The zone has one large, major centre of population which is Worcester City, and then several smaller areas of population, out in our rural areas and then many small villages and small communities scattered around. It’s not a high crime area, and it’s not a disorder area either, although we do have burglaries, robberies or low level anti-social behaviour with some youths hanging around the streets corners, smashing bottles, being a nuisance” (Chief Superintendent in South Worcestershire)

That said, the same officer also emphasised the heterogeneity of the area in terms of crime profiles, with a mixture of rural and urban settings and also with many small communities. The main city in the area of Worcester was perceived as being prone to problems of antisocial behaviour by young people, with specific mention made of such problems by members of the Pakistani community there. Perceptions of minority groups also features in the crime and antisocial behaviour in the more rural Wychavon district, although here it was more the significant Gypsy traveller community in the area that featured most in the descriptions made. Such findings are pertinent because they illustrate how, even in relatively low crime areas, particular issues (or social groups) can assume special significance for local communities in terms of their perceptions about crime and anti-social behaviour and about expectations of community policing. Such issues were given equal prominence by several of the police interviewees. For example, two police officers in the locality said the following:

“We’ve got a group of, what we call gypsy travellers, that are resident on our area. They are an organised criminal gang, who committed, well, the extended family,

commit crimes, quite nasty crimes all over the country. They live on a caravan park on our area” (Chief Superintendent in South Worcestershire)

“Building trust with (Pakistani youth) communities is difficult when we have armed forces deployed in areas bordering their home land, if you like, engaged in potentially killing people who are related to them, because there are quite close clan ties, so we have to understand local policing in a global context, which is a challenge” (Chief Inspector in South Worcestershire)

While the two comments respectively refer to different communities within the locality, they similarly indicate how perceptions about policing problems in low crime areas can be shaped by particular issues and social groups, something also recognised by Dingwall (1999), Hester (1999) and Stenson and Watt (1999), among others. Besides this, the way in which the first comment was made, reflects a generalisation about criminal activity on the basis of family ties (the interviewee, for example, also specified that crime has been committed *by relatives* of the Gypsy travellers living in the area). Similarly, one of the citizens interviewed labelled the Gypsy travellers as a key component of the crime problem in the locality. While it is possible that some of the Gypsies have committed crimes, it may also be possible that the interviewees were making generalisations about the whole Gypsy traveller community in the area. As Stenson and Watt (1999 p. 83) have described, it is important to be aware that there are dominant explanations about crime and disorder which link crime problems with social groups with limited education and low economic status.

Another issue of significance in the perceptions of citizen interviewees in South Worcestershire was of the inadequacy of support from the police and the lack of visibility of policing. The fieldwork here also showed perceptions of intimidating behaviour by some police officers, perspectives that were captured in the comments of one citizen interviewed as follows:

“The one case I had today, he has his car vandalised eight times. He has never had the support of the police, he has problems with his neighbour and believes the neighbour is doing that to his car, there is no proof unfortunately. One day the police descended to him, six police came to see him because they say he’d been throwing stones next door property, and I say to him, the fact that there were six police there, meant that they must have said that there was some sort of riot, because why six police?! The police eventually went away and didn’t do anything, but he feels threatened, he felt intimidated as you can imagine” (Citizen who was also a Councillor Representative in South Worcestershire)

The comment illustrates the potential sensitivities surrounding police responsiveness within rural area contexts, where police officer patrolling tends to be less intensive than in cities. The paradox is that, in such a context, a concerted police response can so easily be seen as intimidating and damaging the police-citizen relationships and therefore of the purposes of community policing.

4.1.3. Perceptions of the context of community policing: the Federal District

From the statistical point of view, and in comparison with the other 31 federative entities in Mexico, the Federal District ranks as an area with moderate to high levels of crime (see for example CIDAC, 2009 p. 4). But the insights provided of the interviewees in this research, expressed in perceptual terms, showed an equally significant and, in many respects, contrasting picture. They talked of car theft and robberies (which reflect the most common crimes portrayed by police statistics)⁴² as well as *other crimes especially not recorded in the local police statistics* and commented on performance issues concerning policing. One senior police officer referred to the criminal trends in the city by stating:

*“In Mexico city, there are around 5 million vehicles on the roads. Despite having numbers almost doubled in the last 16 years, we have managed to decrease the number of stolen vehicles, this year we had 68 theft crimes (daily)... Despite this country having faced one of the most difficult financial times which left hundreds of thousand people jobless, we have managed to control and contain an increase in robberies and thefts”*⁴³ (Police Director in the Federal District)

⁴² The total crime in the Federal District in 2009 was 188,297 where the most frequent crimes are car theft and other robberies (SESNSP, 2009 p. 10)

⁴³ This comment illustrates the perspective of this Director, highlighting particular characteristics of the context that he considers important when referring to the levels of crime. However, here it would be also important to consider that the reductions of crime may be due to other factors not necessarily attributed to the police performance. Some scholars have asserted that police are, in general terms, limited to control or decrease substantially the levels of crime, as many other major factors (over which they have little influence) such as unemployment, lack of education and poverty which affect more greatly the levels of crime (see for example, (Klockars, 2005 pp. 451-452).

According to police statistics, car theft is the most common kind of theft, it is also a crime that citizens frequently report to the police in comparison with other crimes (see Jaime et al, 2010 p. 38). Following the description of the interviewee, the achievements in car theft reduction are important as the police need to deal with different factors that are regarded as adverse (number of vehicles susceptible to be stolen, financial crisis and unemployment). This optimism about crime, however, is not reflected in the same way in other accounts, particularly those relating to retail drug dealing, violent crimes, kidnappings and police attitudes (e.g. police inapproachability and reluctance to address the people's concerns). Crimes such as drug dealing and kidnappings are especially pertinent because these are crimes not reflected in the local police statistics⁴⁴ (see SESNSP 2009, p. 10) and get understandably loom large in the perceptions about law and order and community safety for local people. Thus, compared with the official statistics, the descriptions provided by many of the interviewees tell a different story, one that is more focused on the level of threat. In the statistical reports, for example, the Federal District was in the fifth position of the 32 federal entities in 2009 with 85 kidnappings (see SESNSP, 2009 p.10); this means that it has one of the highest numbers of kidnappings. The accounts of the interviewees reveal, particularly the citizens' accounts, that the strong fear of a kidnapping is obviously not mediated by the probability of the risk of becoming a victim suggested by those statistics. Significant fear of this crime was expressed by one citizen who said that in his area there have been

⁴⁴ For example, in terms of jurisdiction, the Federal District Police (which is the *local* police in Mexico City) was not responsible for small-time drug dealing (in Spanish “narcomenudeo”) until very recently. In 2009 a series of legislative reforms took place but before this crime was responsibility primarily of the Federal Authorities (see DOF 2009 with amendments to three laws - Ley General de Salud, Código Penal Federal and Código Federal de Procedimientos Penales).

several “express kidnappings”⁴⁵ and had spoken to friends and neighbours of two of the victims. Moreover, he commented that, from his perspective the police seem not to be patrolling *on purpose* and then added the following in a tone of some tension:

“There is a feeling that police are colluding with criminals, almost all of them, they are not catching the criminals, the kidnappers, if they would catch them, may be we could trust them. But in the current situation, if a police officer wants to approach me, I prefer he better don’t do it because I don’t know if they are criminals”
(Citizen in the Federal District)

This comment rather endorses what Sabet (2010 p. 8) has noted that, in the popular discourse, the Mexican police tend to be collectively labeled negatively with corruption felt to be running from the top to the bottom of the organisation. One serious consequence of such generalisation could be that, as the above interviewee comment, personal safety can be interpreted as keeping a distance from the police, as well as from criminals and that many citizens are as fearful of the police as of those the police are supposed to be pursuing. Interestingly, there are citizens who think that their personal safety is better served by knowing the local police officers rather than keeping a distance from them. A citizen⁴⁶ stated the following:

⁴⁵ Express kidnappings are characterized by little planning on the part of the criminals consisting of a relatively random selection of the victim, only brief negotiation and small amounts of ransom that are often paid directly by the victims themselves (see CCPCJ, 2003 p.5)

⁴⁶ This Councillor represents one of the highest and most violent crime areas in the Federal District, which can not be named as it would reveal the identity of the interviewee. However, what is important to note is that lacking support of the police is likely to affect the crime report and in turn the levels of crime in the area.

“Community policing has changed significantly in this area, there is no willingness to be closer to the residents anymore since the past Chief Inspector was changed. The current commandants have been dismissive of our requests In relation to what they call community policing, there is not such thing here!. We therefore, do not know the police officers patrolling the area, except for very few of them...”
(Citizen who was a Councillor Representative in the Federal District)

The Councillor Representative explained repeatedly in the interview that the previous policing team had been much more approachable, that there had been a virtuous circle of reporting crime and addressing the needs of the residents in the area, but that now, the current police officers are seen as unresponsive and reluctant to get closer to them. Sounding concerned, the same citizen went on to elaborate:

“It is essential the police are approachable to the community, we need to know with whom we are dealing with...we know that police institutions are been infiltrated by delinquents, we see it in the media, and sometimes when we citizens report crimes (anonymously) by calling the police institution, the first thing we are told is please give me your name, address and telephone number...” *(Citizen who was a Councillor Representative in the Federal District)*

According to this citizen, the notion of safety has to do with knowing with whom they are dealing with and points at the importance of filling the vacuum existing between police and citizens. This finding is crucial as it exposes the fear of citizens to report crime ‘anonymously’ to the police. Not surprisingly, there has been a constant coverage

of the media and Human Rights organisations⁴⁷ reporting the complicity between police officers with criminals (see for example, Reforma, 2009)⁴⁸. However, this coverage has been used by the criminals to put posters with written threats near executed victims to terrify the population, with the aim, among others, of putting off the population to report crimes to the police, and sometimes targeting particularly the ‘anonymous’ report (see for example, Gibler, 2009 p. 51)⁴⁹.

However, police officers may not be fully aware of the fear that some citizens feel regarding an anonymous report of crime, and consequently, prioritise other needs. For example, police may prioritise what they consider to be an efficient management of police resources and give less attention to the fear of the citizens to report crime. As one police officer said:

“Normally, the reports of crime are anonymous. But logically, we need to keep a registration of the callers because there are some people who make jokes and lie and therefore the police resources are diverted” (Director in the Federal District)

⁴⁷ The constant reports come not only from the media but also from organisations such as Amnesty International which has repeatedly documented collusion between police and criminals (see Amnesty International, 2011).

⁴⁸ Even reports of the media can be limited as the media itself has been threatened, with executions and other violent acts, by criminal organisations as a result of exposing information they consider harmful to their “business” (see for example Freeman, 2006 pp. 6-7).

⁴⁹ Gibler (2009 p. 51) refers to *one* example but which can be very revealing of why, understandably, some citizens can be incredibly concerned about reporting crime. It is a photo taken by a photographer magazine Proceso of a death victim. According to this, the dead body was found with a poster written with what appears to be blood saying: “This happened to me for making an *anonymous call* to the authorities: and they were the very ones who did it”.

4.1.4. Perceptions of the context of community policing: Centre of the State of Mexico

Within the police force in the State of Mexico, and in contrast to the Federal District, South Birmingham and South Worcestershire, the community policing section focuses mainly on the communities in close proximity to schools. However, as might be expected police and citizens' views and comments on community policing, however, are not necessarily confined to school catchment areas. Levels of crime and violence in the State of Mexico suggest it to be a relatively high crime federative entity⁵⁰, compared with the rest of the country; statistically the crime here is higher than in the Federal District (see CIDAC 2009 p. 4). This seems to be reflected in the comments of one senior police officer in the State of Mexico whose overview of the crime profile was summarised as follows:

“We have recently had a lot of problems, a lot of conflicts with criminals, today the delinquency is more radical, more violent, they not only commit common crimes, we are talking of criminal organisations... grouping of important drug cartels in the State of Mexico”. He later added “we go out from home (in the morning) not knowing if we will come back” (Police Director in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

⁵⁰ The statistics of crime stated that in 2009 the total recorded crime was 269,92 being the most common crime the theft/robbery (SESNSP 2009, p.16).

The latter comment illustrates the uncertainty, challenges, risks and fear that police officers face. For example, some 440⁵¹ *homicides* linked to organized crime in the State of Mexico were recorded for 2009, *among them police officers*, government officials, civilians and criminals (see Federal Government 2010; Shirk 2011 p. 3). Fear among the police (and government officials) of organised crime has been argued to be high (see for example Freeman 2006 p.6). Again, such fear is not shaped merely by the high statistical incidence of violent crime in the geographic area but also by other factors, for example, the fact that community police officers in the Centre of the State of Mexico do not carry guns⁵².

For citizens, on the other hand, the fear is amplified by the low level of trust and confidence in the police. As a police officer said:

“In some schools there has been rejection of police officers trying to engage with them, there have been a lot of enquiries about our purpose, they ask suspiciously why? Overall, they disqualify our job, I think because they might think we are extortionists or kidnappers” (Regional Police Coordinator in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

This lack of trust in the police is noted not only among school communities but also among minority groups in some rural areas in the State of Mexico. The same police officer went on to add:

⁵¹ This number is more than triple than the 135 homicides linked to organized crime in the Federal District (see Federal Government 2010).

⁵² This is not the case for the Police in the Federal District where all police officers carry guns as part of their uniform.

“We have a group of indigenous people who are organised in a very different form, different from the mainstream society with their own uses and customs. They have a leader and everybody refers to him, if we need anything from that community, if we just approach directly because we want to talk to the families then this is seen as offensive, they do not trust us and wouldn’t talk to us, so first we need to engage with the leader, he convokes the community and then everything follows from that”
(Regional Police Coordinator, in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

These descriptions reflect a lack of recognition of the police officers as embodying the law, even attempts to engage with these communities might be seen as a breach of their social order and norms of conduct. The accounts referring to these communities illustrate that the indigenous customary ‘law’ (i.e. referred in the Mexican expression “uses and customs”) rule many aspects, among them, criminal behaviour. This may then reveal the existence of two notions of justice: the official one represented by the police and the unofficial organised by these indigenous communities. Similar conclusions regarding rural indigenous communities have been pointed out by Monsivais and Martinez (2002 pp. 122-123) and Rowland (2006) in their work which point to the existence and struggle of a plural legal system.

4.1.5. Comparing the issues of community policing: key differences and similarities

The comments recorded in the four case areas, as illustrated above, are not of course necessarily representative of all the residents or the police in those localities. But they do serve to illustrate a range of issues and differences in views that police and citizens may have around community policing. They also demonstrate why it could be naïve to think of community policing as one single notion, particularly when the contexts vary so much and when clearly many of the perceptions held are so context dependent. From a more concrete perspective, each location provides a different reference point in helping to understand how police and citizens construct versions of community policing and the issues surrounding it, how different versions of the ‘same’ issue account for different meanings and why police and citizens might likely see its purposes differently.

A key difference between the locations in the UK and Mexico is that in the latter case the accounts of both, police and citizens, tend to include many references to serious and organised crime. One would expect that the dominance of this over and above less serious crime and ‘common crime’ may reflect a Mexican notion of safety focused only on crime reduction. After all, the UK interviewees were not concerned with organised crime and then their views reflect a notion of safety based on two elements: crime reduction-for the police- and on disorder reduction- for the citizens. Yet, notions of safety in Mexico are not necessarily concerned only with crime reduction. In Mexico, safety can have two broad meanings that do not necessarily complement each other such

as in the UK. For some citizens, safety may have to do with keeping a distance by all means from police officers, although for others it may have to do with keeping closer and familiar relationships with them (i.e. knowing with whom they are dealing). Both notions of safety for Mexican interviewees have in common the fear of the collusion of police officers with the criminals. This means, as discussed in the case of the school communities, that community police officers in Mexico, would face severe resistance on the part of some citizens who fear them and do not trust them to get closer.

Key similarities in Mexico and the UK can be seen in rural areas which illustrate how some relationships between police and communities can be strained in areas with significant ethnic minority communities, for example, in South Worcestershire there were significant minorities of Muslims and Gypsy Travellers and in the Centre of the State of Mexico there were similar minorities of indigenous groups. These examples confirm what Dingwall (1999) has argued, that rural communities are not necessarily homogeneous and can comprise disparate groups coexisting and with plural values to which the police need to respond. Such settings also bring into question the traditional notion of community, which has tended to assume strong social ties based on close proximity and shared space (see for example Newby 1980)⁵³. Indeed a key finding from the research was that some minority communities perceive the police very negatively, while conversely many police tend to categorise the minority communities as detached from the mainstream society or as ‘criminal’. For example, some of the Gypsy Travellers were criminalised, *primarily* for belonging to this ethnic, socioeconomic

⁵³ Newby (1980) argued that the concept of community can be understood as a local social system that comprises a set of social relationships which take place wholly, or mostly, within the people *living* in the same locality.

deprived minority group and because the extended family has committed crimes. This raises concerns about the 'simplicity' of dominant notions of crime that point to particular groups, often those in powerless social positions, which by their status (belonging to minority groups) can object little to 'legitimate' criminal constructions (see Spalek, 2008; Millie, 2006; Stenson and Watt, 1999).

One key difference among the locations in the UK and Mexico is that antisocial behaviour is considered an important issue for the interviewees in the former country. Antisocial behaviour may be seen as part of the continuum of dominant notions of crime that tend to target specific groups of individuals, for example, that of the youth. Tensions were reported between young people that are socialising on the streets and other older individuals in the community. As illustrated before, the problem is that the notion of antisocial behaviour might be overlooking the complexity of communities consisting of different age groups that tend to have different social activities and needs. In turn, this might impact on the effectiveness of the police to ameliorate tensions between different members in a community and between young people and police (see Spalek, 2008; Millie 2006; Stenson and Watt 1999).

Young Muslim communities in the UK are also a targeted group through the notion of antisocial behaviour, but aside from their age, they are also targeted on the basis of their religion. In addition to other groups, there are 'external' factors reinforcing those stigmas. Those 'external' factors have to do with the fear of repercussions for the military operations of the UK (and allies) in the homelands of these Muslim communities. On one hand, the police have little control over foreign policy abroad. On

the other, as one police officer put it, local policing becomes sometimes global and therefore the two contexts are difficult to separate. As illustrated before, one remaining critical issue is the heavy surveillance on these Muslim communities which cause frustration on some of its members and which then are very unlikely to de-escalate the conflicts between these groups and the rest of the community (including the police).

Some of these challenges resemble similar critical issues in the Mexican locations. Crimes are committed not only by ‘common’ criminals but by organised crime, which by its way of operation transcends geographical areas. As suggested by the interviewees, local policing is not necessarily delimited by (artificial) ‘boundaries’ and needs to deal with factors over which the local actors have little control. Crimes committed by organised crime (i.e. executions, kidnappings, drug dealing) were concerns of much importance according to the accounts of police and citizens. The ‘meanings’ of those crimes according to several interviewees suggest that their impact is not sufficiently captured by statistics. Indeed, it can be argued that statistics might tend to mask the devastating⁵⁴ effects of these types of crimes on public fear and on their sense of control over them. This gap between what the statistics might reflect and what police and citizens experience can be argued to be clearer when these statistics highlight the geographical places where the (*recorded*) crimes concentrate (see for example Shirk, 2011 p. 8)⁵⁵. Therefore, what police and citizens views offer is a version of the

⁵⁴ Part of those effects stem from the devastating meanings associated with organised crime which symbolise not only individual vulnerability but also political, police, judicial and ultimately state weakening (see Grayson, 2010). A similar argument to the one presented in the findings in this thesis has also been made by Trojanowicz et al (2002 p. 5) who have argued that fear of crime has a “far greater debilitating effect on a community or individuals than do crime rates”.

⁵⁵ For example, Shirk (2011 p. 8) described that Mexican drug violence *is highly concentrated*, “two-thirds of drug-related homicides occur *in five of the thirty two* Mexican states and roughly 80 percent

problematic of the locality which would be incomplete if one focuses only on statistical references and if one overlooks how strong the interconnection of local and global policing can be (for example, local policing is linked to the national policing and ultimately to policing at the international level in relation to drug crimes and their proceeds).

4.2. PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY POLICING: UNDERSTANDINGS OF ITS PURPOSES AND PRIORITIES

The past section provided some findings that will help to contextualise the purposes and priorities of community policing. This section will present an analysis of the purposes and priorities that police and citizens, respectively, consider to underpin and shape community policing. The samples of police and citizens in all four locations were asked in the interviews to describe their understanding of the notion of community policing, the most important ideas they felt to underlie it⁵⁶ and the priorities of a community police officer (see Annex in chapter 3). The purposes of community policing discussed here represent key themes where police and citizens *differ*, in terms of one party pursuing a particular purpose and the other party overlooking it. For example, many of the interviewees referred to purposes and priorities such as: community safety, crime reduction, police-citizen partnerships, addressing the needs of citizens and building trust. In those purposes and priorities, however, there are differences in how police

happen in *just 168 of 2,456 municipalities*". The complexity of the meanings of crimes committed by organised criminals may be overlooked in descriptions favoring a numerical view.

⁵⁶ The concept of community policing frequently refers to its purposes and objectives (see for example, Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.1; Fielding, 2005 p. 460; Merrit and Dingwall, 2010 p. 389; Sparrow 1988 pp. 1-2; Novak et al, 2003 p. 57).

officers and citizens understand them, and this is explored across locations in the next subsections. It is worth mentioning, that an analysis of the purposes pursued *by both parties* will be the focus of the next chapter.

4.2.1 South Birmingham: understandings, purposes and priorities for community policing

As discussed in the previous section, accounts were provided from South Birmingham that police officers may tend to understand the notion of community safety principally in terms of reduction of crime while citizens tended to see it as also involving antisocial behaviour in the neighbourhood. No doubt reflecting this, most of the citizens interviewed were adamant about the need for the police to consult them about their needs and, in fact, this was recognised by the police too. Interestingly, however, the concept of ‘police-citizen partnerships’⁵⁷ was mentioned only by police officers not by citizens. Although many citizens expressed their desire to be consulted about policing priorities, none specifically referred to the idea of a collaborative interaction as a means to that end. In the following statement, one police community support officer explained why the police were so interested in having a partnership with citizens, yet at the same time why citizens might see it differently:

“I’m in the job which aims to look after communities and rely on them to reduce crime, at the same time, I can understand that most people don’t work for the police, they have other jobsbut still I think it should be a priority (to work together) even

⁵⁷ The notion of partnership here is considered as a more equal and participative process (see for example Arnstein 1969; Retolaza 2008).

if (it is not) all of the time, because if I go home at the end of the day after finishing my job, I want to feel safe in my own home, so obviously, in order to feel safe in my own home, much like anybody else, we have to do what we can and take responsibility” (Police Community Support Officer in South Birmingham)

The idea that *the* job of the police is to reduce crime underlies some of the accounts of one resident. To the question, ‘what do you regard as the main priorities/objectives for a community police officer?’, one of the citizens suggested the following:

“I’d like to think that if there was any wrongdoing in the neighbourhood and a police man or police woman turned up, that things would either stop or it would be resolved ... once the Police step in, then I feel that they can bring a matter to a calmness” (Citizen in South Birmingham)

A further priority of community policing mentioned by citizens and also by police interviewees was ‘addressing the needs of citizens’. To address the needs of the citizens was one priority mentioned by citizens, as it was also a priority mentioned by the police. However, given that some of the citizens’ needs identified by citizens were not necessarily within the remit of competence of the police (such as repairing lights on the streets) having police-agency partnerships was regarded as a key priority by several, but as indicated something unrecognised by citizens. At the same time, addressing citizens’ was seen by the police as being central to the building of trust. For example, a police officer stated the following:

“How do we get the trust ... of communities? I think is very, very difficult ... if we find out what your problem is and we can deal with it, I think we’ll improve your trust ... when I say we, that’s not necessarily the police. That could be partner agencies. If the most important thing to Tania in the road that she lives in is litter, that’s not a massive issue for the Police, that’s not high on the list of priorities for the police, but if that’s what affects you in your road, we should be engaging with our partners to make sure something is done about that.....” (Police Chief Inspector in South Birmingham)

Following his explanations, having police-agency partnerships is important for the police in order to address the needs of the citizens (which was a priority mentioned for both police and citizens). While he admits that not all citizens’ needs would be a high priority for the police, they aim to address them in order to build trust. According to the quote above, building trust in the police rests, sometimes, on addressing ‘unimportant’ demands that may involve uncertain or no payoff. Some of the complications to build trust rest on conditions over which the police have limited control. First, they need to find out what problems the resident may have, which depend on the residents’ willingness to be consulted and expose the problems, and then try to address them themselves or through their partnership with other agencies. Nevertheless, following his argument, going through this process (which may be difficult, uncertain and may involve ‘*unimportant*’ demands) is central, as the ultimate priority is building trust and this is one key priority in policing as a whole.

Another purpose is intelligence gathering, in contrast to the previous priority, this is seen as *very important* by most police interviewees. This requires their engagement with particular communities, not only to address 'low' level issues but also to know what a neighbourhood looks like, for example for crime prevention, in terms of extremists. The following comment from a senior police officer illustrates the previous points:

Community policing "is not seen as something apart from the rest of policing, everything that we do is about the concept of engagement with the community from the very local-low level, right up to the serious level, ... so by getting that intelligence and that knowledge of what happens in the neighbourhoods we can deal with crime and likewise with things such as terrorism, it is really important in terms of counterterrorism that we understand at the very local level what a neighbourhood looks like and prevent people from becoming violent extremists"
(Assistant Chief Constable in West Midlands Police)

However, one young Muslim citizen reveals a different story, the following comment shows how he looks at what the police do:

"Where I live (primarily an Asian neighbourhood), the police are there just waiting for people to do something wrong, (sounding frustrated, he added) I've never seen the police trying to engage with the community in a friendly way, ... they should try to interact more with the people and prevent crimes" (Citizen in South Birmingham)

This interviewee is a young male which argues that the police are visible in the neighbourhood but with the purpose of spotting if people *do something wrong* and not really to engage in a friendly way (he says he has *never* seen that) and goes further adding that the police should be there *to prevent crimes*. His statement shows frustration towards what he describes as a vigilant and an attitude of suspicion of the police towards his community. The subtle dichotomy suggested in his comment about: “wrong” behaviours and “crime” suggests that, from his perspective, the police are failing to detect the main issues in the neighbourhood (i.e. the crimes). Then what this case illustrates is that sometimes the police engagement with the Muslim communities is not perceived to be about addressing their needs and may suggest that the notion of police engagement with these communities can be mainly vigilant and suspicions towards them. The above findings concur with what Spalek (2008 pp. 95-96) has argued, that while the British government is significantly concerned about the threat of terrorism from Islamist extremist groups, the measures taken are largely focusing on law enforcement and are not only isolating Muslims individuals from the society and government but treating them with pervasive suspicion.

4.2.2. South Worcestershire: understandings, purposes and priorities for community policing

Several citizens interviewed in South Worcestershire suggested that police needed to consult them more about their needs; the police see this as a priority too. However, as in South Birmingham, the citizens also assumed the police as being mainly *the* crime-fighters or issue-resolvers, which goes some way to explaining why citizens did not

mention police-citizen partnerships as a purpose, whereas this purpose is key for police officers. One other related purpose for community policing specifically cited by police and citizens in South Worcestershire was the gathering of intelligence about crime. As one citizen puts it:

“Community policing is establishing a relationship between the law, the police, and the people who live in the area ... it enables the police officer to build a relationship in order to gain information” (Citizen in South Worcestershire)

Community policing is seen as the building of relationships on the part of the police with the residents *in order* to gain intelligence. Another citizen provided similar comments:

“Community policing is about keeping the community safe and the police being concerned with the issues that matter to the community ...(for example) drug issues do have an effect in the community of being more worried about safety in the community... one hopes that the police are gathering intelligence, we are aware that in nearby areas there have been major raids and that they have managed to take out quite large sections of the drugs supply business” (Citizen in South Worcestershire)

The two quotes above express how some citizens understand the role of the police (e.g. gathering intelligence about crimes). An interesting observation is that despite this locality being statistically considered to be a low crime area, fears of major crime and safety can persist nevertheless.

A further priority which was cited by both police and citizens in this area was that police should address the problems in the community by developing relationships with the people in the area. One police community support officer said the following:

Community policing “is developing relationships with the people in the area, being the face of policing, my face being familiar to them, somebody that they feel that they can approach...if they’ve got any problems, working to address their issues ... to make the place, you know, Worcester a better place and safer place to live”
(Police Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire)

Although some of the issues in developing positive relationships with the people have to do with people *causing* problems that police would need to address. The same interviewee said that one of their challenges was to address illegal parking. She said:

“The parking thing, it’s something we endeavour to do... they’re parking across their drives and they’re parking on double yellow lines and things like that... it’s fighting a battle that probably will never be won” (Police Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire)

The transgression of parking norms is an example of how police and citizens may come into conflict despite the purpose of developing relationships between them. This illustrates that failures in building positive and closer relationships between both parties is not only due to inappropriate police performance, but actually due to the exercise of

some of their functions. In some way, this would suggest that sometimes citizens may overlook their own role when they talk about the responsibilities of the police in addressing issues. In a similar perspective, Marenin (1989) has argued that sometimes people might simply ask for law enforcement towards others but not against them.

4.2.3. Federal District: understandings, purposes and priorities for community policing

As in the other two locations, the police mentioned that police-citizen partnerships were an important priority in community policing. Again, it was noted that in the citizens' accounts, there was the perception of police primarily as crime fighters, although exceptionally, one citizen representative did suggest that he felt the main crime fighters to be the communities. This citizen resides in a 'high'⁵⁸ crime area and had been coordinating several community-led crime prevention over many years. He stated:

"I believe that to decrease the violence in deprived areas, to decrease drug addiction and delinquency, we (the communities) need to focus on the promotion of educative, cultural activities, participation of the youths in different forms in the community...(these activities) can transform the society. An example, years ago, I worked with young people, young members of the gangs of the area, if one of these gang members knew how to write and read, automatically he/she was

⁵⁸ This citizen representative, when asked to describe the area said: "this neighbourhood is considered a high crime area *by the scholars and the police*". These references to scholars and police were a subtle suggestion that it is not his view, as he later on suggested prejudice on the part of the police towards these disadvantaged socio-economic communities. Latter in the interview he added that the police like to impress the people by making arrests, but that those arrests target young, poor people who commit low level robberies.

designated to be a teacher for other kids. Along with the gangs of the neighbourhood I founded the first school in the area... I don't think the answer to reduce crime is law enforcement..." (Citizen who was also a Citizen Representative in the Federal District)

In the Federal District, in contrast to the UK, police-citizen partnerships are not seen as a priority in community policing by citizens and it could be argued that this is because of the combination of two main factors: the police are seen largely as law enforcers (and according to the citizen above, law enforcement is not *the* answer to crime reduction) and the communities are seen as the main enhancers of those activities that are seen as preventing and controlling crime. The foundation of the first school in the area is one of several achievements⁵⁹ where the major role has been performed by members of the community (in the case of the school, *by gang members* at that moment). This example illustrates the significant role that community members can play in crime prevention, and certainly raises questions about the 'unique' benefits of police-citizen partnerships to control and reduce crime. Police-citizen partnerships are considered in the literature as central to the concept of community policing which have among its aims control and crime reduction (see for example, Novak et al, 2003 p. 57; Moore, 1992; Trojanowicz et al 2002, p. 4-10). The case described casts a different light to community policing in terms of the, sometimes, idealised idea of conceiving the police and citizens as 'equal' partners in fighting and preventing crime.

⁵⁹ The other achievements can not be disclosed as this would endanger the anonymity of the interviewee. Anonymity was promised when the interview was conducted.

Another purpose which was cited by several police officers was to build respect towards them. Considering the difficult context of security here, this would be to some extent expected in terms of improving their image which is associated, for example, to corruption. However, several of their accounts suggest that what they meant by lack of respect has not to do with what they do, but with what citizens do. One front line police officer said:

There is “lack of respect to the authority... mothers, grandparents tell their children ‘if you don’t behave well, the police are going to take you away’ and children keep that mentality, they grow with that trauma and dislike towards us” (Patrol Police Officer in the Federal District)

Following his argument, two elements are central to how this police officer interpret the lack of respect towards the police: the negative construction of the police’s image by adults with their children and the ‘trauma’ or dislike of those children towards the police. The comment above presents the family as a social entity responsible for instigating a negative image of the police on the children. In the literature, respect has been associated with positive appraisal of the other and acknowledgement of social norms of interaction (Cremer 2002). Therefore, this reinforces the interviewee’s argument that this negative appraisal undermines the positive functions of the police and instead triggers dislike for the police. An underlying point is the importance of mutuality in police-citizen relationships. As citizens expect to be treated with respect, so the police expect respect from the citizens (see for example Goldsmith 2005).

Another purpose mentioned by the interviewees that also points to the mutual relationship between police and citizens was familiarity. Although many police officers refer that community policing focus on building mutual familiarity between them and the citizens; this was not a purpose mentioned by citizens (they were interested in knowing the police officers in the area but did not mention explicitly the other way around). One police officer⁶⁰ in part of the Federal District with highest levels of crime pointed out that:

“In my community everybody knows me and I trust them, I know that if I face a criminal and I’m in difficulties, like I’m shot, the community is going to assist me, they are going to call other police officers, they are going to call an ambulance” (Police Director in an area in the Federal District)

The comment above shows that the expectations of mutual familiarity are not limited to ordinary and ‘low’ level interactions but also to extraordinary circumstances in which mutual familiarity can become part of the aid in a life-threatening situation. Considering that this area is one with high levels of crime according to police statistics, this example can raise hopes considering the negative stigma that police-citizen relationships have in such type of areas in terms of animosity and adversity (see for example Sun et al, 2004; Reisig and Parks, 2000).

⁶⁰ Persuasive as this interviewee was, it was felt that this police officer relies on his social skills to develop some very good relationships in the area. This interviewee had previously worked for another of the most notable areas in the Federal District with some of the highest levels of crime, according to police statistics.

Related to the purpose of building mutual familiarity between police and the citizens, some police officers also referred to addressing people's fear of police. While this was one purpose of community policing for the police none of the citizens referred to it. One police officer said:

“Part of the population fear us, particularly young people and children. This problem has existed for long time.... We're implementing programs of crime prevention in the schools to get closer to them and show to them that they can relate to us (in a positive way). I think one of the main problems that we are trying to address is the reluctance of the population to engage with us” (Police Director in the Federal District)

There is a paradox that is easily discernible: while police are trying to get closer to the population, in this case children and young people, that might not necessarily reassure them or improve their relationship; this point has also been noted by some scholars (see, for example, Povey 2001; Willem, 1986). Getting closer to those who fear them, involves understanding of how the people think of the police and why they are feared. Some police officers acknowledged that people fear them because they think they will be mistreated by the police or be subject to abuses of authority. One front line police officer commented that a purpose of community policing is to address this matter and stated the following:

The citizen should be able to “approach the police officer without reserve, without the fear that he/she is going to be abused, neither the fear that he/she is

going to be mistreated, anyone that needs something from the police should be able to do so” (Police Officer in the Federal District)

As one citizen quoted earlier suggested, the perception that almost all the police are colluding with criminals, means that ‘fear of the police’ is linked to the rupture of the basic social contract between the police and the people (i.e. the social contract of police officers as representing law, order and justice). Scholars have pointed that police officers might be seen not only as agents that exert social discrimination (see Carter, 1985), but may also be seen as agents that tend to violate human rights (Silva 2008) or may be seen as an extension of organised crime (see for example Freeman 2006 p. 2).

4.2.4. Centre of the State of Mexico: understandings, purposes and priorities for community policing

As the Federal District, several police officers in the Centre of the State of Mexico mentioned that they were aiming at developing more respect towards them; yet none of the citizens mentioned this as a purpose, despite that police-citizen interactions are supposed to be based on a bilateral relationship, and that, respect is a trait in its relationship which can be seen as having a reciprocal nature. Also like in the Federal District, the lack of respect towards them is understood in terms of the lack of appreciation for the positive role of the police, given that many parents socialised their children to regard the police as agents of oppression and punishment. However, there were also other accounts where lack of respect refers to pejorative qualifications

towards the police which become more contrasting when looking at the dangers of their work. One senior police officer said:

“Policing is a difficult profession and society hardly notices it. We are, like them, common citizens ... we risk our lives every day, for the wellbeing of the society for the life of others... Pejorative qualifications hurt not only the policeman but his or her families, it is important that police officers feel proud of being part of the police...and return home keeping their chin up, because at the end we are fathers, husbands, sons, brothers...” (Police Director in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

As the interviewee suggests the lack of respect towards the police consists of disqualifications towards them, and of more subtle assumptions such as that police and citizens are two very different groups. He states that police officers are common citizens, that they are part of the society rather than a separate entity. Similar to the argument made here, some scholars have also criticised the dichotomy police-society (see for example Kutnjak, 2008 p. 407; Parker, 1956). Actually, Parker (1956 p. 371) criticised the assumed dichotomy by arguing that the police “is merely a group of citizens employed to exercise certain functions. It is created by the public, shaped by the public, and operated by the public. And if it operates badly, the responsibility cannot be disowned by the public”.

Other sources of lack of respect towards the police were argued by some citizens to be related to the public perception of the police’s inefficiency to control delinquency; an issue that could be addressed with more training. In this sense, one citizen cited that one

priority for the police is precisely to improve their capacity in detecting criminal behaviour. This citizen said:

“Police need much more training, for example they need more training to identify with opportunity hidden signs of delinquency, because the delinquents are not people bad dressed or show overt behaviour of a criminal, they are very well prepared to commit crimes... There are areas where organised crime have asked the shop owners for protection fees (extorsions)... you wonder if the police are doing something” (Citizen in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

This citizen mentioned that extortions are being perpetrated and suggest that the responsibility of addressing the issue lies on the police. Another of the purposes for community policing mentioned by citizens and also by police interviewees was ‘addressing the needs of citizens’ in terms of social disorder (anti-social behaviour would be the term used in the UK). One citizen said:

“The police need to identify what the problems are, if there is somebody drinking on the street or causing disorder... they need to keep a close contact with the citizen to know her needs” (Citizen in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

In respect to the schools, one of the purposes cited for the interviewees in the Centre of the State of Mexico is to address children’s fear of the police (a purpose also mentioned in the Federal District). According to some police officers, they do not carry guns as the aim is, on one hand, to project a more approachable image and, on the other, to be able

to work closely⁶¹ with children and young students within the schools to prevent crime. The nature of the fear of police is illustrated by the following statement made by a front line police officer who pointed out that:

“Before, when we arrived to primary schools and the kids saw us, they cried and hide...at the beginning, we were not welcome in the schools. We needed to get involved deeply in social events, school ceremonies and social services... and gradually we’ve gained their trust” (Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

The comment above illustrates the level of fear that some of the children may have had when community policing was initially implemented in 2006 (ASE, 2011). Parallel to the priority of addressing children’s fear of the police, another important aim of the police is to work in partnerships with the parents and the school directors through school committees. According to one middle manager in the police, the school committees are a response to the following problem:

“People have felt or have perceived that the police are not listening to them, that we are ignoring their problems and the issues happening on the streets and this is one of the reasons why we are looking for a closer relationship with the people in places such as the schools” (Police Coordinator in the Centre of the State of Mexico).

⁶¹ This is, inter alia, because the schools have regulations which prohibit any kind of weapons within the schools.

4.2.5. Comparing purposes and priorities for community policing: key differences and similarities between the four areas

The purposes and priorities cited in the four case areas, are not of course necessarily representative of all the residents or the police in those localities. As said before, they do serve to illustrate a range of expectations around community policing. In this sense, they show that each of those expectations sheds light on parts of a very complex picture regarding community policing. For example, the comments of the participants show that while one party pursues a particular priority the other party may simply overlook it, and also that the priorities for one party may demand a significant change in the perceptions of the other party.

Across locations, there is one similar priority in community policing but mainly for the police. Police-citizen partnerships were a priority mentioned only by police officers not by citizens. Although the citizens did mention that they wanted to be consulted about their needs, none of them refer to anything such as a collaborative interaction with the police in order to address their several needs and concerns. It was recurrent in several accounts that citizens consider that crime reduction is the job of the police, rather than a matter of shared responsibility. It could be said that citizens, generally, do not see themselves as equal partners with the police and largely expect the police to address the issues and crimes in the area.

Another similarity across the four locations was that most of the police and citizens think that community policing consists of addressing the needs of the citizens. Again,

citizens expect much of the police but tend to overlook their role in the *interdependent* relationship they have with the police. This was pointed out by several police officers. For example, citizens tend to forget the role they play in some of the problems that the police need to address (i.e. transgressions in the norms of parking in South Worcestershire). Other times, citizens actively depreciate the image of the police and alienate them furthermore from the society (i.e. disqualifications of police role and practice in the two locations in Mexico).

Yet there are exceptional cases of citizens that do not place all the responsibility on the police in respect to the issues that need to be addressed locally. According to one of the cases in the Federal District, the communities and not the police can be considered to be the main crime fighters and preventers of crime. This communitarian approach casts a different light on community policing in terms of the, sometimes, idealised idea of conceiving the police and citizens as ‘equal’ partners in fighting and preventing crime. Furthermore, this case illustrates how important it is to look at plural points, as they all are relevant to see different parts of the complex picture of community policing; parts that may be contradictory, but informative of the different contexts in which community policing is conceived.

From the comparisons of the four locations, it can be argued that there can be key contrasting purposes and priorities: preventing extremism and antisocial behaviour in the locations in the UK, improving the perceived low capacity of the police to deal with crime- particularly violent and organised crime-, building respect towards the police and addressing communities’ fear of police in the locations in Mexico. In the continuum of

notions of crime in the UK, extremism might be perceived at one end and, at the opposite end, antisocial behaviour. One example in the UK, however, illustrated that the two notions might be closer than normally assumed. Such can be the case when local policing is considered in the wider context of global policing, where young Muslims (youth are one targeted group of antisocial behaviour) might be subject to vigilantism for fear of retaliation concerning the UK military operations in the homeland of these communities. Heavy surveillance and vigilantism on certain populations can cause frustration amongst the population and therefore may erode the desire of the police to have a positive police-citizen engagement. This, in turn, might reinforce potential extremism and fail to prevent terrorism. Spalek et al (2009) has made a similar point regarding the prioritisation of tactics based on surveillance and the use of other kinds of state powers over community-police engagement to prevent terrorism. Indeed, she has documented that members of Muslim communities have expressed frustration and anger towards these methods (Spalek et al 2009). Similarly, Murray (2005 p. 348) has said that if one considers that the police depend on community support to control and prevent crime, “the same principles clearly apply to the prevention of terrorist acts”.

Antisocial behaviour is another priority in the UK and it can be argued is closely linked to the notion of respect. According to Burney (2009), the development of the Antisocial Behaviour Order was inspired by the apparent lack of *respect* of some members of the community towards other members, and by the perceived lack of respect for authority and for law. As illustrated, lack of respect for the social norms within a community, for example, in terms of youth nuisance is considered antisocial behaviour. This becomes an interesting point of comparison with the notion of respect in Mexico. One purpose

stated by police officers in Mexico was to build respect towards them. However, the police's notion of respect does not refer to visible 'deviant' behaviour on the part of the citizens, but to the (covert) behaviour of some citizens towards them. They bring up their children by teaching them to see the police as punitive and oppressive agents. In turn, public perceptions of the police as punitive and oppressive tend to play a major role in the fear towards police. For example, one of the police officers in the Centre of the State of Mexico commented that children used to cry and hide away when they first see them in the schools. Other public perceptions of the police as agents that exert social discrimination (see Carter, 1985), or as agents that tend to violate human rights (Silva, 2008) or even as an extension of organised crime (see for example, Freeman, 2006 p. 2), have also played a major role in accounting for the reasons that explain why the police in the two Mexican locations want to focus their efforts on addressing the fear of people towards them.

Across locations, there are gaps between the issues perceived by the interviewees and the purposes and priorities they attribute to community policing. These gaps, it can be argued, reveal a major difference between the locations in the UK and in Mexico. According to the issues perceived by the interviewees in the UK and the purposes and priorities they see for community policing, it can be said that community policing is overall an integrated part of policing. However, in the Mexican locations, community policing is seen as a separate part of policing; there are gaps that are too significant to ignore. For example, none of the purposes and priorities mentioned by the police and citizens refers to the prevention of kidnappings as such, and to the prevention of drug selling in a broad sense (some efforts are limited to schools in deprived areas in the

State of Mexico). Considering the national context, these gaps between the issues related to organised crime and the purposes and priorities of community policing may be explained given the prevalence of 'hard' approaches in Mexico to fight organised crime- where the military has almost become *the* crime-fighter (see Moloeznik, 2010a; Shirk, 2011). Fighting organised crime in this way has resulted in an unknown number of deaths but a conservative estimation points to approximately 40,000 killings in the last five years (see official reports by Federal Government 2010; The Economist, 2011). Various parties in Mexico have tried to influence how to address the security crisis; those parties range from Human Rights Commissions, Civil Associations, to different 'less' formally organised parts of Mexican society (see for example, Alvarado, 2008 p. 48; Alvarado, 2009 p. 71-72). Thousands of people have recently articulated efforts to challenge the supremacy of the 'hard' approaches (law enforcement and military tactics) and have demanded the inclusion of the society to discuss strategies, one example was a protest called Demonstration for the Peace with Dignity and Justice (see CNN 2011). In sum, this context is an opportunity for community policing in terms of representing a mechanism for citizens to get involved in preventive actions. Not only that, given the acknowledgement on several police officers of the importance of partnerships with other agencies to address existent issues, community policing can articulate agency efforts to address organised crime. For example, in the State of Mexico, where they have a focus in addressing drug dealing near schools, there was little information of how other agencies might be involved such as the Health Secretary, the Institute to Prevent Drug Addiction, the Institute for Culture and Sport; in other words community policing can be the intersection for a Crime Prevention Inter-agency Coordination (see for example, UNODC, 2011a). In practice, given that organised crime comprises several

factors, collaboration between *different parties* is a necessary strategy to deal effectively with organised crime. However, none of the police officers mentioned how the communities might play a relevant role to address drug dealing beyond listening to talks of drug prevention given by police officers (see for example, UNODC, 2011b).

Like with other labels in policing, there are unresolved issues about the notion of organised crime such as identifying clearly who the criminals are. Community policing can be a starting point for police and citizens for that, as illustrated before, some Mexican citizens want to know the local police officers so they can directly know with whom they are dealing in their neighbourhood. Of course, a closer and familiar relationship within the context of community policing would be just a starting point to explore who the criminals might be, as the issue is much more complex than that. As Levi (2009) has argued, the term organised crime is contested, *inter alia*, because *the range of criminals* to which the term refers is not clear. Indeed, as he puts it, one would need to ask how far up the political chain one reaches in one's definition of who are organised criminals in Mexico (Levi, 2009 p. 455). Arguments have been made about political actors (Shelley, 2001) and financial actors, not only in Mexico but internationally, which are seen as colluding with the Mexican organised crime in money laundering (see for example, Vulliamy, 2011). This kind of problematic illustrates the sort of challenges that will need to be overcome using a much more complex and coordinated effort in which several parties need to be involved, at the local, national and international level (see for example, USAID 2010; UNODC, 2011c).

As seen in this section, police and citizens across locations have multiple purposes and priorities in community policing; one of them which has not been commented yet refers to trust. According to the literature, trust has different roles, sometimes it can be a precondition to have a closer relationship between police and citizens, and sometimes it can be the outcome of such a closer relationship. This thesis seeks answers for the question, how do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?

4.3. THE ROLE OF TRUST IN COMMUNITY POLICING: POLICE AND CITIZENS' UNDERSTANDINGS

This subsection considers the role of trust as seen by police and citizens in community policing. Building trust was mentioned as an important element of community policing in the four locations. The role of trust in community policing is diverse but large part of the literature on trust is not particularly concerned with some of the complex and adverse contexts described by the participants in this research. For example, trust has been researched much more in various other contexts and roles such as: in cooperative relationships in organisations (for example, Tyler, 2003), in the relationships among different members of a community (Sobel, 2002) or within the context of public participation to strengthen democracy (see for example, Misztal, 2001). Trust within the context of community policing has received little attention, although it has been regarded as an important component in police-citizens relationships (see for example Friedmann, 1992; Trojanowicz, 2002; Raine and Dunstan, 2007). Even less is known

about the role(s) that trust plays and the ways it is build up in a context or problems and adversity (see for example, Six 2007, p. 286).

As a brief introduction to the following subsections, it needs to be said that a significant part of the literature on trust broadly points out that trust refers to the positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another person⁶². In some respects, the police and citizens' views about trust highlighted in this research reflected also that scholar notion of trust. Although police and citizens' understandings of trust reflect a variety of characteristics in their relationship; for example, trust can depend on general but also on specific circumstances of the police-citizen interaction and trust entails different levels of closeness between police and citizens. Also, police and citizens interviewed pointed that trust can have key roles such as: being one of the drivers to implement community policing, it can be seen as a precondition, a consequence and part of a process in community policing, and it can be seen as a rational-calculative decision or as non-calculative decision of police and citizens which shapes their relationship. All these forms in which trust was conceived by the interviewees will be discussed in the next subsections, according to their similarities or differences across locations.

⁶² There appears to be wide consensus that trust refers to positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another person (Rousseau, 1998 p. 395; Mayer et al, 1995 p. 712; Good, 1988 p. 33; Misztal, 1996 p. 124; Sabel, 1993 p. 1133; Newton, 2001 p. 202; Bhattacharya and Pillutla, 1998 p. 462; Lewicki et al, 1988 p. 439; Deutsch, 1960 p. 125; Gambetta, 1988 p.51; Robinson, 1996 p. 576; Möllering, 2001 p. 404; Hosmer, 1995 p. 390; O'Brien, 2001, p. 21). The positive expectations have been defined as "a belief in, a propensity to attribute virtuous intentions to, and a willingness to act on the basis of another's conduct" (Lewicki et al, 1998 p. 439).

4.3.1. Similarities regarding the notion of trust across locations

This subsection is concerned with key similarities regarding the conception that police and citizens interviewed had about trust. To some extent, this subsection serves as a brief introduction to the *several conceptions of trust cited by the interviewees* and discusses four similar conceptions of trust that were identified in the four locations. The first conception of trust is as a driver in the implementation of community policing. Second, trust was conceived as an important element in the operation of community policing and is seen as a precondition of police-citizen interaction, a consequence of it and a process of it. Third, the nature of trust was described by the interviewees either as a rational decision or as an uncertain expectation. Fourth, trust was conceived as varying in the extent of closeness of the relationship between police and citizens.

Trust is seen as a driver for the implementation of community policing in the four locations. The following are quotes that represent examples of what some of the interviewees said in each of the four locations:

“I think that the problem that we had in this country, since the mid nineties through to about 2004, 2005, we had, the biggest ever reduction in crime however, it wasn’t believed. Communities didn’t feel any safer...there was no improvement of feeling of confidence on the police amongst the communities and the current model of neighbourhood policing was very much rolled out to seek to address this” (Citizen in South Birmingham)

Community policing “has had the purpose of serving as a link between the police and citizens, if we don’t know what it’s going on in the area, we can’t do anything about it, so we need the people to be able to trust us and tell us what issues they have” (Police Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire)

“A declining of trust in the police had become an issue for a long time. With the implementation of this program, according to my experience, I have become friend of residents, or at least we have become to known each other a bit more... our goal is to recover public trust” (Police Chief of Patrols in the Federal District)

“This program surged from the necessity to increase confidence in the police, due to the fact that the image of the police has suffer degradation given public perceptions of police corruption, abuse of authority and lack of communication of us with them” (Police Chief of Department in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

The quotes above illustrate that trust played an important role in the implementation and conception of community policing across the four localities. As it will be seen in the next subsections trust adopts much more distinctive meanings depending on the location, and they will need to be discussed later considering the particular contexts. However, for now, it is sufficient to say that as a driver, trust is conceived by the participants in the UK as a ‘new’ arrangement between police and citizens, different from the one which assumed that trust would be a consequence of good police performance (which was understood basically as crime reduction in police statistics). In Mexico, trust is also

a driver for the implementation of community policing, but here the participants refer to trust more in the sense that the police need to break up with the negative image which associates them to the different corrupt practices.

Across locations trust has also been conceived by the participants as having three roles in the operation of community policing: police and citizens see trust as a precondition, a consequence and a process. For example, according to the interviews conducted, it is seen as a precondition so that citizens cooperate sharing their concerns/reporting crimes or approaching the police; it is also a consequence of police taking particular actions, for example, addressing citizens' needs; and it is seen as a process, for example, of building interactions on the basis of familiarity. The following are quotes from the interviewees in the four locations, portraying trust as a precondition of their interaction, as a process and as a result of their interaction:

“Trust is fulfilling our promises, it would mean actually the effectiveness of us will be judged by how we deal with the requests of the community... if they trust us more, they're more likely to give us good information, which would lead to being able to find out if a crime has taken place, and again, it would just help them to know that we are there for them” (This conception of trust highlights its role as a result of police-citizen interaction and was provided by a Community Support Police Officer in South Birmingham)

“For me it is being able to approach a police officer, share something in confidence and know that it won’t go any further” (Trust as different parts of the process of interaction between police and citizens, citizen in South Worcestershire)

“Trust in the police is that when you report a crime to them they must first assure you that they will keep all your personal data in confidence and avoid putting in any way your safety at risk” (This conception of trust highlights its role as a precondition for police-citizen interaction and was provided by a Citizen Representative in the Federal District)

“I think trust is the result of the police addressing your problems or, if they don’t solve them, at least, give a response to what you are requesting from them”. (This conception of trust highlights its role as a result of police-citizen interaction and was provided by a citizen in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Police and citizens’ conceptions of trust across locations have other similarities. Trust is seen by several interviewees either as a rational decision or as an uncertain expectation. When trust is conceived as a rational-predictive-calculation, the availability of particular information is important (for example, citizens’ judgements are seen as being based on the evidence available of whether the police are being competent in their job). Conversely, when trust is conceived as an uncertain expectation, it is the lack of concrete information which defines citizens’ expectations (for example, in the cases where citizens have limited information of police performance and simply have ‘faith’ that police will fulfil their job). Four quotes provided by the interviewees will illustrate

these two conceptions of trust as rational or ‘faithful’. The first two quotes are from the interviewees in the UK locations (one portrays trust as more rational, the other rather more as ‘faithful’), the third and the fourth quotes are from the interviewees in the Mexican locations (again, one portrays trust as more rational, the other rather more as ‘faithful’):

“Trust for me is that the police would be there if I needed them... I think the residents would have more faith if we see more of them (on the streets). Trust is also that, the police would take my situation seriously that they would act on it and hopefully resolve it” (this conception of trust which points more to a ‘faithful’ notion was provided by a citizen in South Birmingham)

“Trust, in terms of policing ...is that people need to feel safe, probably it’s easier to actually notice that when crime and anti-social behaviour starts falling down their priority list... if crime and anti-social behaviour are way down on that list, we’re starting to make a difference” (this conception of trust which points more to a rational notion was provided by a Police Inspector in South Worcestershire)

“Trust is to believe in the police, to believe in what we tell them until they find otherwise” (this conception of trust which points more to a ‘faithful’ notion was provided by a front line police officer in the Federal District)

“The police officer has to show the citizens that he is an honest person, so that they trust us and approach us” (this conception of trust which points more to a rational notion was provided by one Police Coordinator of Intelligence in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Trust was seen by the interviewees in either way, rational or ‘faithful’; these different conceptions have also been reported in the literature of trust and point to important practical implications that need to be revised in the next subsections according to the context of the location. For now, it is sufficient to understand that trust is a complex concept that is not only rational in nature and that the rational-‘faith’ dichotomy discussed here is just one more way in which trust is conceived by the interviewees.

The extent of proximity or closeness between police and citizens was another way in which the notion of trust was described by the interviewees. Trust was conceived either as referring to a distant relationship between police and citizens determined by a general-impersonal framework (i.e. institutional and normative), or may refer to a more close relationship (i.e. one to one relationship) shaped by direct knowledge, understanding and familiarity between them⁶³. This suggests that trust can be seen as an interactive process influenced by both institutional factors and more personal aspects in a one-to-one relationship between police and citizens. These types of trust, distant-close are discussed more in detail according to the respective contexts in the four locations.

⁶³ It can be argued that this division is what sometimes differentiates trust and confidence (in English language, as in Spanish there is just the term ‘confianza’). Luhmann proposed that although both (trust and confidence) refer to positive expectations, trust needs a direct engagement of the parties, whereas confidence does not (see Luhmann, 2000 p. 97).

4.3.2. Differences regarding the notion of trust across locations

The subsection that previously discussed the similarities in the conceptions of trust serves as a reference for some of the differences that will be discussed here. This subsection is concerned with the different ways in which trust was conceived by the interviewees in the four locations. Given the differences in contexts, the distinctive meanings of trust are discussed separately in each location. From the analysis of the data, there are three key contrasts in the conceptions of trust: as a ‘contract of responsibilities’ (in both locations in the UK), as a ‘sense of safety with the police’ and as ‘police honesty’ (in both locations in Mexico).

4.3.2.1. Trust as ‘a contract of responsibilities’ in the UK

Trust according to several interviewees in the two locations in the UK is a contract of police responsibilities with citizens. According to the accounts of police and citizens, this notion holds that trust can be built by providing the citizens with as much information as possible about police performance, sometimes that information is reflected in institutional documents. Two interviewees said:

“Trust is a contract really between people. I suppose embodied for us at the moment, in the Policing Pledge, which sets out how we’re going to deal with certain issues, what our standards are, what our response times are and what the community can expect from us” (Police Community Support Police Officer in South Birmingham)

“There are the customer satisfaction (standards), where we need to phone up people on a frequent basis, to inform them what's going on, ...keeping them informed of outcomes and how we're working on their problems” (Police Sergeant in South Worcestershire)

The Policing Pledge was⁶⁴ a set of performance standards to which the forty three police forces in England and Wales promise to adhere; officially this pledge was in force until mid 2010⁶⁵. The performance standards promised referred, for example, to the dignity and respect with which the police will treat citizens or to the commitment of the police to keep citizens informed about what they are doing about local issues (National Archives, 2010). The promises made in the Policing Pledge constituted a conception of trust that entails two characteristics. First, the Policing Pledge highlighted institutional principles that are aimed at shaping a broad-institutional relationship between police and citizens. Second, these institutional norms or principles were aimed at reducing part of the *uncertainty*, for example as the first interviewee said, the Policing Pledge contained standards such as the police response time to calls.

⁶⁴ It is pertinent to mention that the removal of the Policing Pledge has faced criticism within police forces and some of them, such as West Mercia Police are eager to keep their promises in practice. Underlying the reasons of disagreement over the removal or retaining of the Policing Pledge is the idea of what should be the main purpose of the police, if it should focus on fighting crime or it should go beyond fighting crime as originally suggested by the pledge (see for example, West Mercia Police, 2011; Essex Police, 2011; North Yorkshire, Police 2011). This issue brings light again to the discussion in Chapter 2 about the political inherence over the aims of the police, over the risks on focusing largely on crime fighting targets imposed by the government, and concerning to whom the police are accountable (see for example, Patrick, 2009; Fielding, 1996 pp. 53-54; Kelling and Moore, 1988).

⁶⁵ The removal of this Pledge by the Home Secretary was decided in the face of financial constraints, as it was judged that police would not be able to deliver the promises set by the pledge and that in any case the main focus of the police, from the perspective of the government was to reduce crime (see for example, West Mercia Police, 2011).

Viewing trust as a *contract* suggests that a rationalist assumption underpins this notion. From a rationalist perspective, trust would depend on ‘predictions’ made by the citizen on the basis of the information available regarding some expected benefits or outcomes (see Deutsch, 1960 p.124; Coleman, 1990 p.99, Hardin, 1992 p.152). If the information motivates the individual to believe that his choice will be rewarded, that individual will chose to trust, or in the opposite case, will chose to distrust. From these views, the general assumption is that providing more information about particular cases will reduce uncertainty and consequently will influence the citizen’s decision to trust.

Of course, as discussed before, there were also notions of trust that refer to one-to-one relationships between police and citizens, where the expectations can be derived primarily from the direct experience of the parties with each other. Several police and citizens highlighted that trust can be shaped by direct contact – which again, appeals to the rational side of trust. For example, one Police Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire said:

“I build trust by shaking their hand, introducing them, telling them who I am, explaining my role and what my plans are to help them and the community... trust means that you gradually get to know that person and you sort of learn, whether you can trust people or not... I try to show them that they can rely on me” (Police Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire)

Following the argument above, trust is about providing as much information as possible, in order to build *knowledge*; trust is seen as a process of *learning* whether someone is

reliable in what she/he says and does. The presumption underlying this rational notion of trust is that the more the police interact and become familiar to the citizens, the greater the opportunity to develop knowledge of them, and that will help in building their trust.

Addressing the needs that matter to citizens is aimed at giving the citizens specific reasons to build their trust. In that sense, it could be argued that the rational notion of trust has played an important part in the conception of community policing. Indeed, as it was elsewhere explained *not addressing what matters to the citizens was one of the reasons* of why even when crime has gone down, public trust has not gone up. The following comment made by one citizen in South Worcestershire illustrated that:

“The reason trust is so high on the agenda in this country is that I think unlike a number of other countries, where they have seen what you think rationally you'd expect- that where the levels of recorded crime have gone down, confidence has gone up- in this country, much to the exasperation, I'm sure, of Home Secretaries and Government, you've got the paradox of the fact that levels of recorded crime have gone down, but levels of confidence have not correspondingly gone up ...”
(Citizen who was a councillor on the West Mercia Police Authority)

The comment above explains that the police's previous focus was primarily on reducing crime and an expectation was, inter alia, that people would trust them more. However, the interpretation has been that people's trust did not follow that logic because police

were focused on crime matters that were not reflecting the variety of concerns of the people, such as antisocial behaviour or physical disorder (i.e. graffiti).

However, as said before, some interviewees also conceived trust more as an uncertain expectation based not merely in concrete information but rather more as a 'faithful' belief. For example, trust would mean to believe that the police will do their job and this belief is not necessarily derived from 'proof'. As one police community support officer in South Birmingham explained when defining what to trust the police is:

"The concept of trust really is about having enough faith in the police to do their job. ... It's about the faith that they have in us to do what we say that we will do... I don't want to be political about this, but it's a lot of things that's in the press right now... what we need to do as police is help our communities have faith in us that we are fulfilling our promises" (Police Community Support Officer in South Birmingham)

If this comment is compared to the previous comments of trust that emphasise the reasons to trust the police, then this notion of trust can be seen as suggesting that it does not necessarily depend on previous proof and knowledge about the performance of a police officer/ police community support officer; trust can also be conceived as a more general belief mainly based on what police say they will do. This notion of trust is also found in the literature. Indeed some scholars affirm that trust has an irreducible element of 'faith' which goes beyond a calculation derived from concrete evidence or information (see Möllering, 2006 p. 191; Lewis and Weigert, 1985 p. 977; Giddens,

1991 p. 244; Misztal 1996 p. 18). Paradoxically, if trust is seen *primarily* as a ‘leap of faith’⁶⁶ this would mean that the more the citizens know the police, the less trust they necessitate (see Giddens, 1991 p. 244; Möllering, 2006). If an individual knows what to expect “then we either assume, ironically, that the outcome of the trust process is that trust is no longer necessary or we ignore the crucial questions of what it takes to start and maintain the trust-building process” (Möllering, 2006 p. 106). This dilemma of trust as primarily rational or ‘faithful’ could be observed in the accounts of the police interviewees, some of them prioritise one approach over another. However, as it will be discussed in the next subsection, the two approaches in trust could be seen as complementary.

4.3.2.2. Trust seen as ‘sense of safety *with* the police’ and ‘honesty of the police’ in Mexico

The citizens’ sense of safety *with* the police and the honesty of the police are two ideas that drive for a different relationship between police and citizens from the one which has been shaped by coercion, danger, mistreatment, abuse of authority and victimization. This different relationship between police and citizens proposes to break the longstanding-negative police’s image and is based on general principles, such as that the police will not act corruptly or harm the citizens. In the Centre of the State of Mexico, one front line police officer commented as follows:

⁶⁶ Möllering (2006 p.191) argues that trust is possible due to a “leap of faith” and that this “leap of faith” is *the* essential element of trust. Trust, from this perspective, has important implications because then it does not matter how much knowledge of a person we may have, that knowledge alone can never explain trust (see for example, Lewis and Weigert, 1985 p. 977).

“Trust is to have the capacity to communicate, to ask for help, without thinking that the police officer is going to do something bad or that he is going to be colluded with the delinquents” (Patrol Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

And reflecting a similar notion of trust, one of the citizens interviewed in the Centre of the State of Mexico suggested that:

“Trust is that if I ask the help of the police, they are going to be on my side, not on the side of the delinquent” (Citizen in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

The two comments above refer to police corruption, in particular to police collusion with criminals. Both comments emphasise trust as being mainly dependent on the role of the police. However, there are other notions of trust that point to a more shared responsibility for the term corruption; it points to both parties: police and citizens. One front line police officer in the Federal District explained:

“Sometimes it is difficult to change the perception of the people; some of them do not understand that if I stop them because of a traffic infraction, I’m just doing my job not looking for a bribe” (Police Officer in the Federal District)

The comment above illustrates that police corruption involves, in cases such as this, the citizen’s inclination to participate in corrupt practices. Therefore, in some cases, citizens’ propensity to be corrupt feeds police corruption. This concords with what Kleinig (2005) has argued that, police may see many citizens (and sometimes with

reason) as potentially corrupt and corrupting. One of the major consequences is that police corruption impairs the ability of police to carry out their work successfully and being responsive to citizens' concerns. Another front line police officer in the Federal District said:

“Our problematic are the unreported crimes, those crimes that citizens don't inform to the police because he or she has no trust in the police” (Police Officer in the Federal District)

Lack of trust in the police, as discussed elsewhere is linked to public perceptions of police corruption, police brutality and violations of human rights (i.e. torturing, arbitrary detentions, executions) which naturally triggers strong fears⁶⁷ towards the police. Several quotes in previous sections from police and citizens interviewed in Mexico illustrated that police are feared.

In order to change such negative image of the police and improve police-citizen relationships, several police officers pointed to different institutional arrangements to try to identify and deal with corrupt police officers. One senior police officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico stated that:

“In order to give a better image to the society it has become important to look for a less aggressive candidate, train and professionalise the officers regarding human

⁶⁷ Although it is not characteristic only of the Federal District Police, some examples of torturing, arbitrary detentions, executions and police malpractice from 2007 to 2010 are documented in the Recommendations of the Human Rights Commission of the Federal District- (5/2007, 6/2007, 11/2007, 13/2007, 15/2007, 16/2007, 6/2008, 11/2008, 23/2008, 12/2009, 15/2009, 16/2009, 23/2009, 06/2010 and 09/2010).

rights and other pertinent laws. To ensure that the police officers are adequate, they undergo toxicological tests, socio-economic tests, polygraph test” (Police Director in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Of course, such an institutional approach to reformulate the image of the police is not enough in itself. As discussed before, when there are negative expectations about police practice, some Mexican citizens may opt not to trust the police as a self-defence response given that they do not know if the police are colluded with criminals. Two examples were previously discussed where one of the interviewees stated “*if a police officer wants to approach me, I prefer he better don’t do it because I don’t know if they are criminals*” and where school directors rejected to engage with community police officers because of their suspicion about them (see also Gambetta, 2000 p.216).

Police efforts to build trust are also based on one-to-one police-citizen interactions. Underlying the strategy to focus on school communities is the idea that having a more familiar relationship will provide evidence that police officers pursue legitimate purposes. Again, being known and familiar to teachers, parents and children resembles a conception of trust which highlights that their trust can be built in a rational way. This rationale is similar to Six (2007 p. 296) who has argued, that “as long as very little information is available, the trustor will rely more strongly on generalized schemas, ...whereas, the more information becomes available, the more she will rely on person- and situation-specific information”. Illustrating that notion of trust which is based on personal and situational specific information, one police officer in the Federal District said:

“We are promoting a change of public perception and attitudes towards the police by having closer relationships with them and showing that they can trust us” (Police Superintendent in the Federal District)

According to this conception of trust, a direct relationship between a police officer and a citizen may help the latter to re-formulate previous generalised ideas of suspicion towards the police and perhaps develop a different image on the basis of their personal experiences. Now, paradoxically, this notion of trust relies on the ‘faithful’ component of trust to *start* that promising relationship between a police officer and a citizen. Some police officers know that there are always some situations in which trust demands a ‘faithful’ response on the part of the citizen. One front line police officer in the Federal District said the following:

“Trust is to believe blindly in something... to have faith that if the police is there it is because we will help and not because we are going to act in a harmful way” (Police Officer in the Federal District)

This comment suggests that trust sometimes may inevitably be surrounded by uncertainty. In a way, the notions of trust as rational or faithful illustrate that it could be both; trust sometimes can be developed on the basis of constant interaction in a one-to-one relationship but also can be granted in situations of (and despite of) a lack of information. Indeed the two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, in the case of school communities, trust may start on the basis of little

information (i.e. is more 'faithful') and later develops into a more 'predictable' relationship between police and citizens. This insight gained in my field studies resembles what Lewis and Weigert (1985) have argued that if all cognitive content is removed from trust then we would be left purely with blind faith; on the other hand, if all non-cognitive content were removed from trust, we would be left merely with nothing more than a rationally calculated decision. At the empirical level, according to the analysis of the notions of trust provided by the participants, the findings indicate that trust may be seen in three ways: basically as rational, basically as faithful or a mixture of both.

Conclusions

This chapter provided different responses to the research questions *how do police and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing?* and *how do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?*. People's sense of safety was one of the purposes of community policing mentioned by the police and citizens interviewed in the UK. As mentioned earlier, an issue revealed in the analysis of the interviews was that some police officers may centre their understanding of safety in terms of reduction of crime, while citizens tend to understand safety more in terms of relief of antisocial behaviour which they consider unacceptable behaviour. This can be argued, represents, two notions of safety. This explains, to some extent, why even when there can be reductions in crime, people may not automatically feel safer. This perceived gap between police and citizens'

perceptions is one of the factors legitimising the prevention of antisocial behaviour as a central purpose in community policing.

Similarly, people's sense of safety is also a purpose in the locations in Mexico. Yet it differs from the double notion of safety in the UK (one concerned with crime reduction and the other with the reduction of general disorder, but which can be seen, in principle, as complementary to each other). According to the accounts of the interviewees, the notion of safety in Mexico refers to conflicting and sometimes mutually exclusive factors (for some citizens safety has to do with keeping a distance by all means from police officers), also to related factors (for some citizens safety has to do with keeping closer and familiar relationships with police so that they know with whom they are dealing), and finally to rather independent factors (for some citizens safety has to do with communities looking actively to solve the issues of crime in the neighbourhood, giving the police a marginal role).

Alongside this, a key finding in this research was the concern of police officers in Mexico about people's fear of them. People's fear of the police can represent a fundamental fracture in addressing their needs. The accounts of both police and citizens are dominated by crime issues. In this sense, the needs of the citizens have to do with crime and their fear of crime, but this latter issue has to do, in turn, with their fear of the police. Police and criminals are sometimes difficult to differentiate.

Mexican police officers face the challenge of addressing all those detrimental attributions that alienate them from citizens and that affect the priorities they pursue. In

addition, there are other unrelated issues that play a part in keeping the distance between police and citizens and may be affecting crime prevention. Preventing crime was a purpose for both police and citizens, although some citizens believe that the (non corrupt) police are anyway *the* crime-fighters and therefore they do not see as necessary their active and equal participation in preventing and reducing crime. This was also a finding in the accounts of the citizens in the locations in the UK. The accounts from citizens reflected that they may not always see their role as being to address the crimes and issues they experience, but instead expect the police to address them. This gap in co-responsibility explains, in part, why citizens did not mention police-citizen partnerships as a priority, while police officers regarded it as a key priority.

Another interesting point of comparison between the UK and Mexico refers to the notion of respect. Implicitly, antisocial behaviour in the UK evokes notions of respect towards rules of interaction between communities and between communities and police (see also Burney, 2009); these norms target visible ‘deviant’ behaviour. Building respect was mentioned as a purpose only by police officers in Mexico. However, the notion of respect does not refer to visible ‘deviant’ behaviour but to the (covert) behaviour of some parents towards them, in terms of how parents bring up their children by teaching them to see the police as punitive and oppressive agents.

One of the purposes of community policing according to most police and citizens interviewed across locations was trust. The consideration of the various notions of trust mentioned by the interviewees leads to the conclusion that we can not adopt a narrow perspective when we seek to identify the multiple roles of trust in community policing.

According to the interviewees, trust has been one of the key drivers in implementing community policing in the UK and Mexico. In the UK, trust is changing its meaning. As indicated by several interviewees, trust was previously understood more as a consequence of good police performance (understood basically as crime reduction), now it is shifting to encompass a broader expectation from the police (from crime reduction to police being close, visible, familiar and approachable). In Mexico, trust is also a driver for the implementation of community policing, but here the participants refer to trust more in the sense that the police need to break up with the negative image which associates them to corrupt practices.

Besides being a driver for community policing, the conceptualisation of trust points towards three broad roles: police and citizens see trust as a precondition, a consequence and a process. For example, according to the interviews conducted, it is seen as a precondition so that citizens engage with police in different ways (i.e. sharing their concerns/reporting crimes or approaching the police to share their needs); it is also a consequence of police addressing citizens' needs; and it is seen as a process in the interaction between police and citizens like when building a familiar relationship.

Ways to build trust mentioned by the interviewees referred not only to one-to-one relationships where the expectations might be derived primarily from the specific experience of the parties with each other. They also referred to institutional norms or principles that are aimed at reducing part of the uncertainty which is present in police-citizen encounters (i.e. through the Policing Pledge in the UK) and at ameliorating part of the negative image of the police (i.e. through the Police Reforms in Mexico that look

at better training, professionalization and control of the police). It is a key finding of the empirical work conducted for this research that while the interpersonal trust (one-to-one relationship) and the institutional trust can be complementary, these two types of trust may also function separately from one another. For example, when Mexican citizens seek to keep a closer and familiar relationship with their local police (interpersonal level) so they know that their local police is not part of the corrupt police. The importance of building trust in either of these ways within the context of community policing has been clearly established by the interviewees and we shall return to this in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 5

ALIGNMENT IN UNDERSTANDING OF COMMUNITY POLICING BETWEEN POLICE AND CITIZENS

Introduction

This chapter has the particular aim to address the following research question: *to what extent is there alignment in understanding of community policing between citizens and police?*

Community policing ideals suggest that the goals of community safety and public order are better achieved by collaborative effort between police and local citizens (see for example, Skolnick and Bayley, 1988 p.1). But it is also widely recognised that achieving such collaboration in order to address local policing needs is complex and challenging (see for example Sadd and Grinc, 1994; Peak, 1992 p. 27; Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994 p. 304; Rosenbaum, 1994; Goldstein, 1987; Wilson, 1975 pp.105-106). One of the reasons for this, according to some scholars, is that police and citizens often have different, and perhaps conflicting, expectations about priorities for policing (see for example, Podolefsky, 1984; Winship and Berrien, 1999). Such differences of expectation, are not of course, necessarily confined to policing matters – similar conflicts of viewpoint and understandings have been much discussed in the literature in relation to the range of public services and many scholars have commented on the negative aspects and consequences of different expectations regarding public provision (see Hocker and Wilmont, 1985 p. 23; Daft and Marcic, 2010 p. 486, Podolefsky, 1984).

On the other hand, it has been observed, if goal alignment can be achieved between users and providers of services, there is the possibility of some very positive consequences such as collaboration, functional efficiency, productivity and optimization of outcomes (see for example, Sundaramurthy and Lewis, 2003; Horowitz, 1962 p. 178; Daft and Marcic, 2010 p. 149).

Within community policing, the relationship between alignment of understanding and positive collaboration, on the one hand, and between disparity of expectations and conflict on the other, can be far from straightforward. First, as Nicotera (1995 p.3) has argued, lack of alignment of understanding between the two parties might not necessarily result in negative consequences and might indeed be a facilitator for positive change (Darling and Brownlee, 1984), a means to enhance adaptation, to challenge complacency (Putnam, 1995 p. 183), and enable better representation and protection of different interests through a process of checks and balances (Wright, 1981 p. 213; Fisher, 1980). Second, even though there may be alignment about the broad goals of policing between police and citizens it is possible that this will mask differences in understanding, for example, about the means of achievement or the standards to be attained (Thacher, 2001a). In Chapter 4, several instances were highlighted where the goals and their underlying understandings were not always closely aligned. For example, while some police officers thought of community safety in terms of crime reduction, many citizens tended to understand the idea more in terms of social order (i.e. with less anti-social behaviour).

Although several scholars have asserted that police and citizens are likely to have differing understandings of the goals, priorities and purposes of community policing, it seems that there has been little, if any, rigorous or comparative research on the issue (Thacher, 2001a; and O'shea, 2000 being exceptions), and certainly very little has been published which provides empirical insights on the subject.

This chapter thus analyses the extent to which there is alignment of understandings about community policing between police and citizens. The understandings about community policing that will be described here correspond to the interviewees' priorities and purposes discussed in the previous chapter such as: building trust, knowing and addressing citizens' needs. The *extent* to which there exists an alignment between police and citizens is examined on two broad levels. First we consider the key words (or labels) used by police and citizens to describe the purposes and priorities of community policing (i.e. if the same key words are used by both groups then it might be inferred that there is *high* alignment, and/or if the understandings (or meanings) of those key words differ, then the level of alignment can be assumed to be *low*). Additional to this, the analysis examines whether the *effect* of such alignment is *positive* or *negative* another, that is, if their understandings of community policing promote a sense of greater closeness or distance between each other.

The chapter is organised in three broad sections. Firstly, it considers the degree of alignment between police and citizens in each of the four locations based on the interview responses. Secondly, it compares the findings between the locations, and thirdly, it reflects on the extent of alignment of understandings between police and

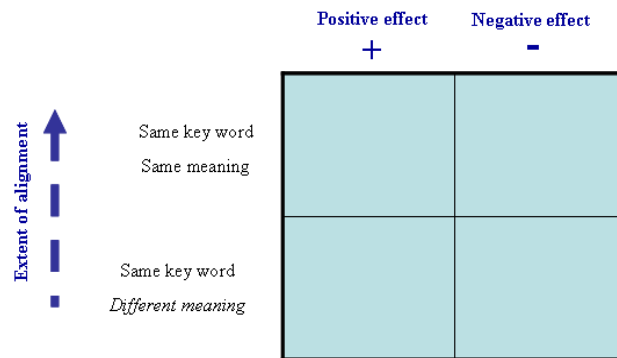
citizens as highlighted from observations of interactions and exchanges (and agreements and disagreements) between police and citizens during two public meetings on local policing issues (one in Birmingham, UK, and one in the Federal District of Mexico).

5.1. ALIGNMENT OF UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT COMMUNITY POLICING BETWEEN POLICE AND CITIZENS: THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS

The question of the alignment of understandings about community policing between police and citizens has received little attention in the research. Thacher (2001a) is one of the few researchers who has argued with clarity that the objectives are not necessarily the same for police and citizens. The issue is a complex one given the various meanings that might be involved in the concept of community policing. In order to be manageable, the analysis has been focused on two key comparisons: on the one hand, analysing: ‘same key words- same understandings’ and on the other, ‘same key words-different understandings’. In doing so, it was recognised that, even where disparities were to be found in the understandings these might not necessarily be indicative of adverse police-citizens relationships, and that it would be necessary to examine more deeply to establish whether the effects of difference were positive or negative. Figure 6 depicts the framework for analysis, where the high level of alignment between citizens and police refers to ‘same key words- same understanding’, the low level of alignment refers to ‘same key words- different understanding’; each with potential ‘positive’ ‘negative’ effects on the police-citizen relationship.

Figure 6

Framework for the analysis of alignment of understandings



5.1.1. Community Policing in South Birmingham: alignment of understandings between police and citizens

One key understanding of community policing that was widely discussed and shared between police and citizens in South Birmingham concerned its aim of ‘building trust’ in the police. As it was seen in chapter 4, despite that police officers interviewed may have the tendency to think that citizens’ needs and requests are ‘*unimportant*’ they aim at responding to their demands as this is considered to be central to their aim of building trust in the police. The idea that building trust is very much about addressing citizens’ needs is also held by citizens interviewed. As such, this represents a case of close alignment between police and citizens (i.e. ‘same key word- same understanding’). This alignment was clearly observed when the interviewees were asked the particular question, ‘how would you define the concept of trust in community policing?’. One police community support officer and one citizen responded as follows:

“It’s the community believing in us that they can tell us their problems and we’re able to take them away and then deal with them” (Police Community Support Officer in South Birmingham)

“Your local Police are acting on your behalf ...doing what the community thinks is a priority, ... as against a position where, in the past, they were driven by all sorts of national targets ... you know, hitting their performance targets regardless of what’s in the interests of the local community” (Citizen who was also a Councillor Representative of the West Midlands Police Authority)

These comments share the idea that, in order to build trust, police should listen to the community and address their concerns. Moreover, the citizen’s response in particular suggests that the ‘previous’ interpretation of the police’s approach to addressing citizens’ needs tended to rest on indirect evidence – i.e. the assumption that, if the statistical performance indicators of crime were improving, the police would indeed consider themselves to be acting on behalf of the community. This interviewee, however, also recognised that, now, trust is built more by direct means – by addressing the issues that the community sees as their needs and priorities. The importance of directly addressing citizens’ issues and priorities is explained by one police officer:

“We may think our statistics show there’s a massive burglary problem in the area and we go and tackle the burglary problem, whereas actually, the people who live in the area may not be concerned about the burglaries, but they’re more concerned

about the kids drinking on the corner, because that's causing them more fear. So, if you just look at your statistics to try and see what the problem is, you're not really getting to the root of it. You need to go and speak to the community and find out what their problems are (and address them)" (Police Sergeant in South Birmingham)

This is in much accordance with perspectives discussed in the literature on trust, and the inference is that understanding what citizens expect from the police is one way in which the police can earn their trust (see for example, Newton, 2001 p. 202; Misztal, 1996 p. 124). As illustrated by the officer above, finding out what the citizens' needs are is central to address them (and ultimately to build trust). 'Knowing citizens' needs' was not only found to associate with trust building in the interviews, but was also cited as a key part of the understanding of community policing in its own right by both police and citizens alike. Indeed, this was a clear example of 'same key word - same understanding', which is perhaps unsurprising given the way community policing as a concept has been conceived and presented. A number of comments from the interviews underline the argument that community policing should be about knowing better what the community wants and also about the community having more say in the content of the policing agenda. Again, two quotes – one from a police officer and one from a citizen – illustrate the position as follows:

"Clearly, we're concerned with some aspects of crime and they've got completely different concerns and we need to, you know, find out what their concerns are (otherwise) their concept of what the police are doing is not very good" (Police Sergeant in South Birmingham)

“The Policing Pledge does include being able to contact your neighbourhood policing team, having a say in setting local neighbourhood priorities, and more importantly, being entitled to a response within a certain time” (Citizen who was also a Councillor in the West Midlands Police Authority)

While addressing citizens’ needs was regarded important to build trust by police and citizens interviewed, the actual process of addressing them was rather problematic. This indicates a disparity of views between police and citizens - it is a case of ‘same key word -different understanding’. Indeed, the analysis of police and citizens understandings about community policing in this locality highlighted various meanings to the key words ‘addressing citizens’ needs’, including differing expectations among citizens about what constituted acceptability in terms of the timeliness of the police response and also about the extent to which different communities can influence policing priorities, and among the police, about the ‘unrealistic’ expectations of the public.

Furthermore, and more specifically in relation to police responsiveness, several citizens who were interviewed expressed their concerns that, on occasions when they had called the police for assistance, they had felt the response had been too slow and police attitudes less than empathetic. One such respondent, for example, said:

“I’ve felt that the Police should have made an immediate response and they didn’t... a young man who lives in this block has a young girl living with him and she was

very high on drugs... this particular Saturday, this young girl lost the plot, whatever you want to say and she took a knife to the flat to the couple upstairs. ... so I rang the Police. I thought, well, somebody could get really hurt here and it took them hours and I mean, I said on the telephone that there was a weapon involved and it took them hours and hours to come here” (Citizen in South Birmingham)

The interviews also highlighted how, while many residents like this one, considered police responsiveness often to be a problem, the view within the police was frequently very different and shaped by perceptions that many requests from citizens were not high priorities and were mostly to do with non-crime matters. The police frequently said that, in any case, their ability to respond immediately was constrained by resourcing issues and staffing levels in particular. As one police officer explained:

“People obviously want to see the police all the time, everywhere. They want to be able to come into a police station and see a policeman... So the public have got a misconception that we’re always available ... that we’re always going to speak to them straight away and solve their problems and that’s an expectation that we need to manage really. It’s not going to happen, unfortunately... I think you’ve got to have the resources to make community policing work. If I’ve only got two officers at my disposal, that’s not going to work” (Police Sergeant in South Birmingham)

As Marenin (1989 p.75) has pointed out, the police must choose whom not to satisfy and whose problems to delay, and in this respect there is inequality among citizens in

the level of empowerment in articulating their needs to the police and achieving the responses they would wish for, as recognised by one citizen representative as follows:

“There is a danger that middle class, wealthy communities would be able to put their case much more strongly, much more effectively, than inner city areas where people are not so empowered, are not so educated, don’t know how to play the system effectively” (Citizen who was also a member of West Midlands Police Authority)

The comment above is an example of the challenges to equality in policing and indicates that there are elements of power between communities which can influence the response of the police. This is pertinent to be highlighted because, as described in the literature, the problem is that community policing is organised according to democratic ideals (Friedmann, 1992 p.204). Considering the previous quote, if some communities are more empowered and more effective in setting their demands then this represents a middle class democracy rather than a popular democracy in community policing. The quote above also illustrates that the police are not neutral receptors of the many demands that different groups raise and therefore the police do not respond equally to all of them (see Thacher, 2001b p. 4). In sum, although both police and citizens agree that addressing citizens’ needs is important, there are different understandings and factors between police and citizens that problematise the achievement of this goal. These different understandings between police and citizens, as illustrated here, define that goal as a case of ‘same key word- different understanding’.

5.1.2. Community Policing in South Worcestershire: alignment of understandings between police and citizens

For the citizens interviewed in South Worcestershire, as in South Birmingham, a key dimension to their understanding of community policing was that police should consult them about their needs – an understanding also shared by the police, and which allowed it to be categorised in the analysis as a case of ‘same key words- same understanding’. But alongside this alignment of understandings, which was generally viewed as a positive change in policing in terms (see also Oliver, 1998), a disparity was again identified with regard to views on how the police should address those needs of citizens. Again, addressing citizens’ needs is a case of ‘same key word - different understanding’ and two citizen representatives highlighted different examples of variance between their own expectations on the one hand and the way in which police in practice addressed the issue of concern. They said:

“One thing that concerns me is drug dealing, but I hear suspiciously little about police dealing with it. I know the problem is there, but somehow it doesn’t loom its head. I find this disconcerting. Why is it so low profile? We all know it is there in the community. I put you an example, a youngster who had come out of prison he is a drug supplier, this is common knowledge in the community. Why he is not apprehended? It does have an effect in the community being more worried about feeling safe. One hopes that quietly in the background things are going on and that police are effective but I’m not party to it” (Citizen who was also a Citizen Representative in South Worcestershire)

“I think the police need to get out of the mentality of thinking just about attending an incident, and think about what lies behind that... I’ve recently reported a young mum (drug addict), she let her child play out around the flat because there were needles, and she didn’t want her child to get near these needles. I reported that to the police, they knew about this but they say they were trying to catch the pushers. Well, I still think that they should be doing something about the kids who are doing drugs, they should do something to stop them, because if they just ignore this and allow them to go on they will go onto harder drugs, aren’t they? I think that this is a funny policy, we need to change this policy!” (Citizen who was also a Citizen Representative in South Worcestershire)

The two comments amply illustrate the low alignment of understandings between these citizens and the police in this locality and in particular the gap between what the citizens expect and what the police actually do. In the first case, the expectation is clearly that the drug supplier be apprehended (although this seems to be based on an assumption of ‘common knowledge’ in the police about the perpetrators, and as such, echoes what was discussed in chapter 4, namely that because some citizens perceive the police as an omnipotent source of knowledge and authority (see Loader, 1997 p.3) they do not necessarily see a role for themselves in working with the police to address a problem in the locality. In the second case, the quote also highlights different understandings between the police and the citizen, but the big difference here is that the gap between expectations and response is such that it may actually trigger citizen engagement with the police (for example, in suggesting that *“the police need to get out of the mentality of*

thinking just about attending an incident, and think about what lies behind... we need to change this policy!”). All this is much in accordance with claims in the literature (see for example, Goldstein, 1979 and 1990; Harfield, 2006) that the police should focus on problem-solving by dealing more concertedly with the causes that lie behind incidents, rather than on the incidents themselves. It is also in line with some of the accounts gathered in this research from a number of police who were much persuaded by that idea. As one police officer said:

Community policing is about “making sure that we are dealing with the problems that they want us to deal with, and also anticipating the sorts of problems that we know are going to cause people annoyance or even worse, and actually dealing with the causes of the problems” (Police Inspector in South Worcestershire)

This quote suggests more alignment of understandings between police and citizens regarding which problems the citizens really want the police to address and how (by actually dealing with the causes of those problems). Similarly some police officers felt honesty to be crucial in trying to manage citizen expectations in accordance to the capacity of the police to address them. One Police Community Support Officer, for instance, said:

“We’re honest with the person and say, look, you know, we’re not going to be able to solve this overnight. However, we’re putting this, this and this into place, to help you and to stop that happening and then, if we succeed, that person thinks...I know

that what they say is what they're going to do and therefore then they trust us that we're telling the truth” (Police Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire)

The comment above illustrates that, much as some police community support officers do seek to align their performance to citizen demands, so they also try to align citizen expectations with what they regard as feasible for the police to accomplish. As another interviewee put it:

“We actually try our best to deliver on it, if we can not do it... then honesty has to be the best policy” (Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire)

According to these two previous accounts, honesty is associated with addressing citizens' needs. From what the two community support officers said, being honest means telling the truth to people of what police can realistically accomplish in dealing with a problem. As the aims of the police in community policing - of meeting citizen demands and being honest about what can be achieved - are important in the building of trust, any failures or shortcomings in this respect are likely to damage trust. However, in this locality at least, the police seemed to be trying to compensate such constraints by seeking to build trustful relationships in different ways. In this respect, one police officer emphasised the nature of building trust by having an active and closer role in the community:

“We go into schools, talk to children, we talk to parents we run football clubs... you build up that trust by having a different interaction, they know me, they know

me as (name), ... I'm their friend, I'm the one who helps them with their shopping out of the bag when they were struggling to get it in the house last week, I'm the one that gave their kid a prize for the best picture at school" (Police Constable in South Worcestershire)

Indeed, building trust by having a closer interaction with the community can be considered as a case of 'same key word- same understanding'. One citizen said:

Community policing is "building a closer relationship with the community by being visible and approachable" (Citizen in South Worcestershire)

Another key phrase used by several police in this research which similarly focused attention on relationships with citizens was the notion of 'policing by consent'. This is a phrase much used by leading politicians as well as in police circles to describe the virtuous character of British Policing, and often alongside that other much cited attribute of an 'unarmed' police service. It also refers to an ideal in which police would engage with the public and that its goals, methods and tactics would enjoy the tacit support of the public (Wakefield and Fleming, 2009 p.52; Villiers, 2009 p.29). One senior police officer said:

"Community policing to me is, working with the community to identify and solve problems that face that community ... It is built on policing by consent... and engaging with people (as opposed to) being antagonistic, and heavy handed" (Assistant Chief Constable in West Mercia Police)

Policing by consent and engaging in a dialogue with citizens might be seen as the ‘materialisation’ of the attempts to *align* police and citizens’ understandings of community policing. This is illustrated in the comments made by one police community support officer who referred in particular to the engagement and dialogue in public meetings between police and citizens:

“We explain our goals to them and they explain back what they expect from us and from the meetings I’ve been to, we do share the same goals, we do, both as a community and the police, want to work towards reducing crime and reducing the fear of crime” (Police Community Support Officer in South Worcestershire)

5.1.3. Community policing in the Federal District: alignment of understandings between police and citizens

In this locality building trust between police and citizens was identified as a particularly important notion (a key word) for both parties in relation to community policing. Here, it was clearly understood in two ways: people’s need for a sense of safety and for honesty with the police. Understanding trust in those ways was a case of ‘same key word- same understanding’. While in the previous chapter we considered a context of corruption and collusion between police and criminals; here the focus is on how community policing is understood in relation to those notions of people’s sense of safety and reliance in the honesty of the police. One citizen said:

“Trust it is that they approach us in a friendly way, it is that if we are victims of crime they come to us to help us, it is them making the people feel safe” (Citizen in the Federal District”

Asking for feedback from the community and endeavouring to interact in an approachable and friendly manner with citizens were two of the ideas proffered by police officers here as strategies for building trust. One officer referred to the concept of trust and emphasised the importance of changes in police behaviour as follows:

“Before, the police officer was rougher; he was harsher in his posture and behaviour. Now he knocks on the resident’s doors asking their feedback, and greets the people...” (Police Superintendent in the Federal District)

Indeed, having an intimidatory image, as Goldsmith (2005 p. 456) has argued, is likely to undermine public expectations that police will act responsively and with restraint when enforcing the law. Certainly, the perception that police officers here were encouraged to interact with residents and to get to know their needs and problems was evidently another important element in the process of building trust. In terms of our analysis of alignment in understandings of community policing, understanding citizens’ needs is key to building trust between police and citizens. That said, some of the research findings here also highlighted the potential difficulties for the police in relation to building trust particularly in neighbourhoods where trust in the police has traditionally been low. In this respect the following comment provided by a police officer amply illustrates that challenge:

Unfortunately, there are some communities in which it gets more difficult for us to trust them, they are more resistant to us, it has to do with the socioeconomic level... in those low zones the crimes are higher..... I trust the people who comply with the law, but unfortunately there are some who do not respect the law” (Chief of Patrols in the Federal District)

This is an interesting quote because the police officers interviewed in this research rarely refer to their level of trust in the citizens and the socioeconomic factors influencing such trust. The problems of trust and difficult relationships between police and citizens in disadvantaged areas – as illustrated here – have of course been much commented upon in the literature. For example, Tapio (2007 p. 417) found antagonistic relationships between police and citizens and attributes this to the overrepresentation of victims and criminals in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. As Sztompka (1997 p. 14) has argued, denying the citizens credit of trust and assuming them indiscriminately as potential violators of rules might breed distrust in the police in return. Sztompka (1999 p.111) has also referred to this as “a self-enhancing vicious spiral of deepening cynicism and suspicion”. Indeed, in the research in the Federal District several citizens’ accounts were provided that echoed this mindset of negativity and suspicion among the police towards disadvantaged communities. For example, one such account included the argument that discriminatory attitudes by the police were themselves a major problem affecting trust:

“Trust is that the police avoid abusing their authority and avoid being opportunists in constructing a good image at the expense of poor people... the police want to impress the society by arresting young, poor people who commit low level robberies and then these youngsters end up locked in prison ... At the end, this separates much more the police from the people; it undermines their image, as providers of justice”(Citizen who was also a Citizen Representative in the Federal District)

The argument from the citizen is that the police are undermining their image as symbols of justice and they are seen as agents of social discrimination who actually are heavily enforcing the law against disadvantaged communities with the deceptive attempt of building trust. This clearly indicates discordant views about trust in the police, particularly about the notion of trust pursued by police in terms of increasing their number of arrests by targeting disadvantaged communities. In that sense, this becomes a case of ‘same key word- different understanding’. The same citizen representative cited above, later added with a recriminatory tone:

“I truly believe that criminality is not confined to people of poor socioeconomic background, and nevertheless the prisons are full of young poor people. Moreover, far away from reforming them in the prisons, they come out more readily and better trained to commit crimes” (Citizen who was also a Citizen Representative in the Federal District)

The argument put forward in this quote, particularly in the first part, serves to fully illustrate how citizens can disagree with the dominant notion of police ‘good’

performance by questioning and challenging the underlying assumptions. This is not an isolated disagreement, nor an uncommon observation. The same argument is put forward in academic reports that illustrate that Mexican prisons have dramatically increased their population in the last decades because, among other factors, the enforcement of law is targeting much more the poor people (for example, see Arellano, 2010 p. 4; Bergman and Azaola, 2007 p.75). Also, there are reports arguing that prisons are failing significantly in their function of rehabilitating the offender since they have become areas to socialise criminal conducts (for example, see Arellano, 2010 p. 4). Naturally, these factors can greatly affect the trust of citizens in the police, as illustrated before.

In referring to other challenges of building trust, a senior police officer referred to the difficulties of dealing with corruption within the police as follows:

“You can’t change the education, lack of ethics and moral from one day to another... the police was utterly neglected for about 30 years. We’ve adopted a radical change in the last 7-8 years. But we still lack the time to reach the conscience of everybody. Some of the police officers have been fired because they don’t understand and want to continue doing stupid things” (Police Director in the Federal District)

Use of euphemisms for police corruption, such as ‘stupid things’ in the above quote, contrasted starkly with the more direct references⁶⁸ from citizens towards various forms

⁶⁸ Other more direct references about corruption in the police, which point to thousands of cases in the police also come from the media (see El Universal, 2011).

of corruption. And one such citizen interviewed particularly emphasised the link between trust and corruption as follows:

“Trust for me is that if I ask the help of the police, they are going to comply with their duty, that if I report a crime, they are not going to reveal my identity, that they are not going to be on the side of the delinquent” (Citizen in the Federal District)

This quote and the one above it have in common the idea that building trust in the police depends very much on solving the problem of corruption and malpractice within the police. In that sense, this is a case of ‘same key word- same understanding’.

5.1.4. Community Policing in the Centre of the State of Mexico: alignment of understandings

As indicated earlier, community police officers in the State of Mexico are mainly deployed to work with the schools in disadvantaged socioeconomic communities, although in some localities, there is a wider involvement with communities and concern with a range of local needs. This was the case in one middle class neighbourhood where interviews were conducted and where one citizen described that addressing community needs as a shared goal between police and citizens. One citizen commented that:

“In this neighbourhood we (local police and residents) have a shared understanding of the needs, for example, to address problems such as people hanging around with no purpose to be in the area, strange people or people that

drink on the street... in general we don't have major problems in the neighbourhood or with the police officers in the area" (Citizen in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

This citizen described a very positive relationship with some of the local police officers; she saw them 'as part of the community' and indicated that they generally tried to address local problems and priorities such as dealing with strangers hanging around. However, the comments of another citizen contrasted clearly with the alignment of views between police and citizens in that middle class neighborhood. He said:

"We (residents) do not feel protected by the police, they often fail in addressing key issues such as robberies and responding to calls of emergency, they are not even visible to the extent they should" (Citizen in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

As seen in the two quotes above, there is not always alignment between police and citizens in terms of which problems and how police address citizens' needs. One senior officer provided what can be considered one of the explanations for failing to address citizens' needs:

"We expect the citizens to help us in keeping public security. It is about crime prevention, for example, not leaving the windows open at their home, the citizen being caution when he arrives home, when he parks his vehicle looking whether there is somebody suspicious around....With a population of more than 15 million

inhabitants, it is practically impossible to be everywhere” (Senior Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Some of the accounts of police officers in the Centre of the State referred to community policing as supporting communities not only in the generality of addressing crime problems but also, more specifically, in working with citizens and school communities to recover public spaces such as parks from the risk of criminal activity. Officers here particularly mentioned that they had committed themselves to getting involved in community activities and in helping with local environmental improvement projects in neighbourhoods where communities were *distrustful* of the police and where the challenge was to demonstrate willingness on the part of the police to help the communities. One front line officer explained:

“We needed to get involved in social events and school services. We needed to paint schools, cut grass and trees, we painted benches, fixed roofs and made them waterproof, we also made a bit of woodwork, metalwork, we washed cisterns, painted roads, we did everything to gradually gain their trust” (Police Beat Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Such police service oriented to the communities was generally felt to have succeeded in promoting a sense of partnership between police and community and engendered greater public trust. In that sense, building trust between police and citizens is in this example a case of ‘same key word- same understanding’. However, the research also identified other examples of initiatives which, despite similarly good crime prevention

intentions, tended more often to cause tension between police and these communities. One such initiative designed by the police was a pilot workshop to strengthen relationships between parents and their children. The focus of the workshops was on intra-family violence and on reconciling conflict in domestic lives and one front line police officer described them as follows:

“We have designed a workshop aimed at reuniting parents and kids, we call it the Workshop of Forgiveness. The students write down the answers to a series of questions which indicate the level of intra-family violence, they do this anonymously ... we read the answers to the parents who listen to all the answers but can identify their own case... (then) we discuss with the parents the concept of paternity and what they need to have in mind when dealing with their kids. We also ask the kids to value the effort of their parents in sending them to school....then we ask both parties to forgive and promise each other that they will construct a new family relationship” (Police Beat Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Evidently, this kind of work was pushing beyond the usual bounds of community policing and was engaging police officers in roles that many Mexican people might consider to be private matters. In that sense, these crime preventive actions taken by the police might be seen as a case of ‘same key word- different understanding’. Indeed, the research identified some stark differences of opinion about the workshops, as evidenced by the following comments of one police officer:

“There are people who feel affected and aggravated, they’ve told us in those workshops that we are going too far, surpassing our roles, but then we say to them You know what? we are performing certain functions here to prevent violent and crime, we together share some responsibility for that, your responsibility lies within your family, ours is to raise more awareness so we can achieve what we are looking for” (Police Beat Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

The quote above suggest some issues between the police and the citizens regarding ‘unconventional’ roles of the police; issue that has also come to the attention of some scholars who had adverted that the police might be extending themselves into fields of activity where they can claim no more legitimate authority than the citizen (Loader, and Walker 2001 p.26). While inevitably the question of where the legitimate boundaries of policing interventions lie would always be contestable and complex, the conflict in this particular situation seemed to be heightened by the focus on the difficult subject of intra-family violence, and the justifications proffered by the police for their interventions here – as illustrated by one police officer as follows:

“We have as a main target to prevent crime.... We are really concerned with getting engaged with parents and addressing the rupture between parents and children. It is here where the society is most affected. If we achieve a reunion between parents and children, we will gradually reduce the rates of violence both within the schools and on the streets” (Police Beat Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

5.2. ALIGNMENT OF UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT COMMUNITY POLICING IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: KEY DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

The accounts of community policing and of the understandings they reveal in each of the four locations illustrate well the varying alignment of views and meanings held by citizens and police. Importantly, however, they also tend to challenge the general assumption in the published literature that any such differences in understanding are necessarily negative and potentially damaging to police-community relations. On the contrary, the research identified as many instances of different of understandings and expectations that had served to develop positive relations between police and citizens- where both parties were able to learn from each other and build trust.

In all four localities the need of the police to *know* citizens' needs was a clear and specific assumption underlying the practice of community policing and one that both police and citizens acknowledged and welcomed. Indeed, the idea of the police listening to and learning from citizens' needs and expectations, rather than assuming that they knew best what the priorities should be, had evidently become the new conventional wisdom in all four localities and widely accepted as an underpinning principle of community policing. Not only that, general optimism was apparent among both police and citizens that this principle was relatively easy to enact and that doing so would in turn help build trust and improve respect for the police and for the work they were doing. However, police recognising the importance of *knowing* what the community would expect and need is one thing; actually *addressing* those expectations and needs

was highlighted as quite as different and more demanding issue and more particularly, this is where the research identified significant differences of understanding between police and citizens – and in each of the four localities. In some cases, the police were clearly struggling to meet community needs because they were inadequately informed about those needs – as were defined by the members of the community. Equally, the research highlighted how citizens sometimes failed to recognise that their expressed needs might in fact have been addressed because they had different interpretations of what the police had been doing and why.

This problem – that despite an alignment of views about the importance of addressing citizens' needs, the challenge of so doing was much less easily achieved in practice – was observed across locations. In South Birmingham, a notion of restricted democracy (middle class democracy) and unequal community empowerment seemed to be at work, with socially disadvantaged communities, and particularly those where police community relations were dysfunctional, losing out in the competition for limited police resources and response. This issue was also apparent in the Federal District, although with aggravating factors. Here, the police were not only seen as being selective in the citizens' needs they addressed, but additionally they were seen as deliberately taking the easy option of enforcing the law against poorer young people in order to improve their arrest statistics and improve the image of efficiency of the force in the eyes of the rest of the society, a form of 'gaming' which Patrick (2009) also highlighted in his research on UK police forces. Evidence of such discriminative behaviour was also referred to in the interviews conducted in the State of Mexico, where the police were said to be carrying out activities motivated largely by prejudice against people in disadvantaged

communities who, without clear evidence, they felt to be largely responsible for violent crime.

The lack of alignment between police and citizens concerning the addressing of citizen's needs is not necessarily all negative. On the positive side, the gaps in understandings between police and citizens challenge complacent views about police response and thinking and bring into light different representations of the problems and interests of disadvantaged communities. Therefore, while in this research the goal of addressing citizen's needs has generally tended to stand out for the lack of alignment in understanding between how police and citizens respectively view it, there could be a greater alignment in prospect.

The potential for the police and citizens to move into greater alignment in respect to their understandings of the purposes of community policing perhaps also depends on the extended role of the police into non conventional activities. The police and citizens' views referred to how local police had developed their practices and perspectives on their role by pushing beyond their traditional crime-fighting boundaries and getting involved in community events and activities to build trust with citizens. For example, several interviewees in South Birmingham and South Worcestershire referred to particular police efforts to develop closer interaction with the community such as running football clubs, participating in community events, and in the Centre of the State of Mexico referred to helping out on repairs and maintenance of community infrastructure (e.g. repainting benches or fixing roofs in the light of incidents of public disorder and criminal damage). Such activities were seen as redefining the role and

purposes of the police from the traditional 'professional' model (see for example, Goldstein, 1990). While of course for most police these activities were seen as secondary to crime-fighting and law-enforcement, they were nevertheless generally felt to be important and worthwhile in bridging gaps and ameliorating differences between them and citizens.

It could be argued that community policing helps to redefine not only the local issues and type of interaction between police and citizens, but the way to construct knowledge between them about policing. In the same way that some scholars have argued that the policing agenda tended to be set exclusively by the police before (see for example Trojanowicz et al, 2002 p. 5), it could be argued that part of the knowledge about local issues could, potentially, be now co-constructed by police and citizens. Several examples were provided by the interviewees that show how different knowledge about policing issues and about the methods used by the police to address them can be used to question and challenge dominant perspectives. For example, citizens' criticisms were made both in the UK and Mexico of the way police sometimes go about to build trust in their performance: at times, police engage in narrow and opportunistic behaviour that seeks primarily to achieve crime targets, but is not necessarily benefiting the citizens and can even be very detrimental.

Whether the tendency in the past for differences in understandings between police and citizens can give way to greater alignment and more emphasis on the building of trust between them will depend, inter alia, on both parties recognising their responsibility in mutual relationships. This may seem obvious but one key finding from the research

which has not previously attracted much note in the literature on trust between police and citizens is that the notion tends to be understood more as a *one-way-relationship* than in terms of mutuality. As described earlier, police and citizen interviewees defined trust in different ways, for example, as strengthening confidence that police act in the citizens' interests, as making people feel safer, as addressing citizens' needs and as being close to people. However, while, without exception, interviewees (both police and citizens) shared a clear understanding of the idea of the community having trust in the police, it was significant that, when asked what they felt about the reciprocal idea - of the police having *trust in the residents* - many conveyed considerable puzzlement and uncertainty, and indeed, in a number of cases, evident discomfort. Several asked for clarification or for the interview question⁶⁹ to be repeated. Many made facial gestures of bewilderment, confusion; some smiled as though the idea was humorous, or held a blank face and silence, probably in the hope that the researcher reframes the question. Of those who proffered a response, most associated the idea with compliant behaviour such as abiding by the law, or with mutual understanding and familiarity between individual police officers and particular citizens. But overall, it was clear that asymmetricality characterised the relationship between citizens and police in terms of trust. Indeed, to a large extent, the conception of trust was identified as referring primarily to the functions that the police are expected to perform, and reflect relatively little of those that might perhaps be expected of citizens, most notably, in providing information and intelligence to the police on crime.

⁶⁹ The interview question was: How would you define trust in residents?

An alignment of views between police and citizens about how to understand and actually address citizens' needs is a challenge as illustrated so far. The next subsection illustrates the extent of alignment in the police and citizen's understandings, observed within the context of public meetings between police and citizens.

5.3. ALIGNMENT OF UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT COMMUNITY POLICING BETWEEN POLICE AND CITIZENS: OBSERVATIONS OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

In all four localities police officers who were interviewed mentioned public meetings as one of the common means for seeking to know citizens' needs. As part of the research the author observed two such public meetings between police and citizens – each in a high crime area; one in the Federal District of Mexico and the other South Birmingham, UK – and each with the aim of understanding better the nature of group interactions and identifying the extent of agreement/disagreement between the two parties and the balance of power in the process (see for example, Tapio, 2007 p. 417; Thacher, 2001b).

In both areas public meetings were said to take place on a regular basis (once or twice per month) but one difference between the two public meetings was that, in the Federal District, their organisation was very much an initiative of the residents in the area, whereas in South Birmingham, they were planned and hosted by the police. One further and potentially relevant contrast was that in the UK various agencies are associated with responsibility for community safety provision (e.g. the fire services department, the local authority, and the housing authority) whereas in the Federal District (Mexico), this

is restricted to police and citizens only⁷⁰. In fact, however, at the particular public meeting observed in South Birmingham as part of the research none of the representatives of the other agencies were present – so, by chance, there was a fairly direct comparison of meetings between just police and citizens.

5.3.1. Public meeting in the Federal District

This meeting was held in a week day in the evening, was attended by 12 residents – all of at least 30 years of age - and just one Chief police officer in the area. The atmosphere among the audience was of concern. The meeting commenced with one resident outlining (in a frustrated tone) some of the local issues which he felt needed the attention and a response from the police – notably the problem of repeated thefts from people walking in the area by someone on a motor cycle, an incident of rape of a young girl near the park, and the lack of street lighting in some parts of the neighbourhood. Some of the issues raised by this resident were endorsed by other residents. The police officer responded (in a committed and understanding tone) that he would look to have a response from the partner agency that he was fully aware of the importance of having this problem addressed. This problem illustrates how some goals depend not entirely on the police but rather on the supportive police's role as a mediator of the citizens' needs with other agencies. On the other hand, police visibility became central to much of the discussion of how residents understood the nature of the problems and solutions. Considering the views of the citizens and the police, it can be said that there was alignment in how they understood visibility: as the deterrence of criminals, reassurance

⁷⁰ Although meetings among different security authorities are held almost daily, the public meetings referred here are only concerned with the exchanges between police *and citizens* regarding local issues.

of the residents (showing that the police was ‘doing something’), reducing the fear of crime and the possibility to catch the thief committing the robberies. At the same time, however, the police officer said (in a firm but sympathetic tone) that the police were not able to increase the number of patrols in the area but would improve the routine in which the patrolling was being carried out along with the quality of the interactions of the police officers in the neighbourhood. Considering this, the alignment was about improving police visibility to deter criminality and increasing reassurance although while the residents understood it as an increase in patrols, the police negotiated to be understood as an improvement in the quality of the patrolling.

In respect to the rape of the young girl, there was discussion among the residents about the occurrence of the incidence but without a clear strategy to address the crime. There were heated disagreements about her responsibility as a victim of that crime which finally resulted in a lack of a clear request for action to the police. This illustrates, as Morgan and Newburn (1997 p. 83) have argued, that the enforcement of law is not invoked because a crime has been committed; social constructions and de-constructions play a significant role. According to them, the law is invoked because police officers - and citizens- *are satisfied* that a crime has probably been committed and because they deem it *appropriate* to apply the law to the situation (see Morgan and Newburn, 1997 p. 83).

5.3.2. Public meeting in South Birmingham

This meeting was held in a week day in the evening, was attended by 22 residents (all of at least 30 years of age) and one Police Sergeant. The opening of the meeting was opened and led by the Police Sergeant. Again, the atmosphere was of tension among the audience. The problems mentioned by the citizens were about noisy youngsters drinking on the street, noisy neighbours fighting almost every day, and drug dealing. When the problems were exposed, the residents looked concerned and some of them explained how much such problems were affecting their lives. In respect to the youngsters, a couple said they could not enjoy peace during the evenings. To such comment, the response of the Police Sergeant was to gather concrete information, for example, about the name of the street and times where they gathered with the aim to use efficiently the police resources. But later, some tensions emerged among residents disputing whether the noisy youngsters were really a problem; at some point the dialogue among residents revealed racial tensions. One black resident tried to ameliorate the disagreement asking the complainants to think more in a communal and tolerant spirit, highlighting the positive interactions of the neighbourhood. These disagreements about the meanings of antisocial behaviour (some rooted in disruptive behaviour and some rooted in racial discrimination) resulted in a lack of a clear request to the police. The police officer did not clarify in the end what would be the police's response.

One citizen stood from her chair and exposed angrily the lack of police response regarding drug dealing near her house, saying she had went to the police station and

gave testimony and after a year the problem was still persistent. From her attitude, it could be argued that an underlying goal of this resident was to use the public meeting as a venue for holding the police accountable for lack of response. However, as argued by Adams (2004) and Roberts (2003), this type of accountability is informal and the citizen can exert little degree of control over police actions. While the Police Sergeant took notice of the problem, another goal for him was to reassure the resident and ask her to meet him at the end of the public meeting.

5.3.3. Key comparisons of the public meetings

In comparing the two public meetings, four key points can be highlighted as follows: First, the focus of discussions was highly localised, and concentrate on issues and events of significance in the particular neighbourhoods. However, the meetings illustrated the complex and dynamic system of interdependent goals and expectations between police and citizens. The local policing agendas in the public meetings were product of certain deliberation, conflict and negotiation. Second, there were some issues for example, the rape in the Federal District and the disruptive behaviour of the youngsters in South Birmingham, where the impacts of the citizens' efforts to press their cases to the police for actions were somewhat weakened by disagreements and disruptive interjections among the residents present. As a result, there was little sense of a unified community view (see Newby, 1980). Third, it was unclear how representative of the wider community the attendees were and how representative their comments were of the range of opinions on priorities in the area. Would the actions agreed by the police officers be welcomed by others not present on this occasion? Clearly the issue of the

representational base of public meetings and their legitimacy as a forum for decision-making is always likely to be of concern. Fourth, while the public meetings served as a mechanism through which citizens might express their needs, and perhaps influence the policing agenda (Adams, 2004), the ultimate decision about the content and form of the policing agenda lies very much on the police. As King et al (1998 p. 320) have argued, the paradox of public meetings is that they are overtly presented as consultative and participatory but they may in reality only represent an extension of the existent unbalanced relationships; a structure where the participation is decided mainly by, and for the interests and convenience of, the public officials.

Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the extent of alignment between the understandings of citizens and community policing. Despite the fact that other research has asserted the existence of goal conflict between police and citizens, there has been little or no detailed research to provide evidence of this, particularly by taking into account the perspectives of the parties themselves.

The findings reported here provide insights on the extent of alignment of understandings concerning community policing, between police and citizens, regarding various priorities such as building trust in the police and knowing and addressing citizens' needs. According to the findings, one key conclusion is that there are so many expectations on the part of both, police and citizens, that it is very difficult to observe complete alignment between them regarding a certain priority, particularly when any

priority is constantly reshaped by the changing contexts that surround police-citizens interaction. A clear example of that refers to the goal of addressing citizen's needs, where police and citizens tend to disagree on what they meant by it. Furthermore, the lack of alignment between police and citizens regarding which issues to address and how to address them was also due to the limited police resources. Therefore, even when the police wish to be responsive to citizens' demands they can be constrained. On the top, the type of relationships with socioeconomic disadvantaged communities can also be influential in how police interpret and address citizen's needs. Despite that police and citizens described several of those factors affecting the alignment of their understandings about community policing, the interviewees also pointed to key alignments. This research identified close alignment of understanding about the *importance* of the police knowing the community's concerns and needs, and also about the *significance* of building trust in the police. Given the interconnection perceived by the interviewees among those priorities (knowing the citizens' needs, addressing them and building trust), a second conclusion is that the extent to which police and citizens' views align, depends on the various connections they perceive among priorities. For instance, the different meanings they attributed to addressing citizens' needs had the tendency of becoming more aligned when other related priorities were simultaneously considered by police and citizens. Particularly, addressing citizens' needs tended to be a conflictive goal given the different meanings between police and citizens, but the police seem to try to compensate for this by recurring to other goals, such as building trust. While trust was described by several interviewees as addressing citizens' needs, it was also described as the police building a closer, positive relationship with the community. To build trust in Mexico and the UK the police are redefining their role and have

extended it to activities which are focused on building a closer and non-coercive relationship, for example by participating in different community activities, organising football clubs, participating in school events, addressing themselves physical disorder (painting benches or fixing roofs). These are examples highlighted in my research to illustrate how these notions of trust can come into play when other forms of building trust, that are based on being responsive to the needs of the citizens, have failed (or at least are not facilitating a positive interaction between the police and the citizens). The importance of these ways to build trust in the practice of community policing is central according to some scholars (see for example, Goldstein 1990). As the interviewees in this research suggest, these community oriented activities can bridge the gaps of understandings and ameliorate the differences of views between police and citizens.

A third conclusion is that it is important to look at the police and citizen's views as they can formulate arguments which are linked to the wider analysis and arguments made in the academic literature. For example, the accounts of some citizens both in the UK and Mexico illustrated very important disagreements in relation to particular ways in which police try to build trust. It was criticised in Mexico and the UK that one dominant form of police's interpretation of building trust rested on quantitative targets that are supposed to act as 'proof' that they had been acting on behalf of the community. Similar arguments and related research has been conducted, for example by Patrick (2009). According to several of the interviewees, the very proof lies in directly addressing what the community sees as priorities.

A fourth conclusion is that while none of the research findings suggest that the police objectives in community policing which seek to better find out the concerns of citizens' are anything other than well-intentioned, they do emphasise the challenge which such an approach invokes in raising public expectations that may or may not be able to be delivered. Interviewees tended to take for granted what it means to pursue some goals, such as that of knowing citizens' needs. However, what is less explicit is that knowing the needs of the citizens does not merely involve setting goals in accordance to those needs, but the *co-construction* of the problems and solutions with the citizens. Although this might sound obvious, it could be easily overlooked. The co-production between police and citizens does not only involve practical arrangements, but imply a potential change in the very basis of their shared knowledge about policing.

A fifth conclusion is that analysing the views of police and citizens can reveal problems concerning their relationships that they might not be aware of. For example, the analysis of the meanings of trust provided by the interviewees suggests that that *trust* is dominated by the notion of *trust in the police*. This makes little allusion to the role of the citizens in building a trustful relationship between the two parties. Since community policing has allegedly redefined the relationship between police and citizens in terms of greater interdependency, then there is also the need to re-define trust by balancing the asymmetries and by including a more reciprocal notion. If neither the citizens nor the police are clear as to the multiple roles of the citizens in building trust between all of them, then this restricted understanding (paradoxically aligned too) will continue to shape their relationship, sometimes, in a negative and incomprehensible way.

In sum, there was a major role played by police and citizens in mediating the meanings of the priorities/ purposes of community policing. The extent of alignment in police and citizen's understandings of community policing tends to be dynamic, rather than static, because the citizens and the police attribute several meanings to a certain priority/ purpose and they also make complex associations between different priorities/ purposes and sometimes even when the expectations are conflicting; this can serve to reinforce their engagement and can potentially modify lack of alignment between them. It can be argued that complexity is intrinsically present in this process. This means that the alignment of goals between police and citizens needs to be seen as a set of interdependent parts which together make up a broad arrangement, known by them as community policing, and which is also interdependent with some larger context at the geographical level.

CHAPTER 6:

IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN CONTEXT

Introduction

In this chapter, the term *impact* in community policing will refer not only to successes in crime issues but also to many other positive aspects that, from the perspective of the interviewees, help to improve the quality of life and public and personal safety for local communities. This range of positive impacts can be argued to represent a key differentiating feature of community policing in comparison with other approaches in policing where there was a more delimited focus. In particular, professional policing – considered by many scholars to have been the dominant approach prior to the widespread introduction of community policing – had a strong focus on controlling crime, although generally seemed to fail to meet public expectations in this respect, and indeed, many of those of the police themselves as measured in terms of performance effectiveness (see for example, Kelling and Moore, 1988 p. 8; Goldstein, 1979).

According to various scholars, community policing has raised expectations in a number of respects ranging from ‘enhanced responsiveness to citizens’, ‘more effective and efficient performance in crime control’, ‘reduced fear of crime’, ‘improved quality of life for local residents’, ‘strengthening police legitimacy’ and ‘enhanced public confidence’ (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997 p.5; Friedmann, 1992 p. 4; Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994; Greene, 2000). With all such expectations in mind, it has evidently been important to have a strong evidence base to know how well community policing has

worked in practice (Kennedy and Moore, 1995 p. 274). In this chapter, then, the aim is to address the research question: *How do police and citizens regard the impacts of community policing?*

Some scholars have argued that the positive impacts of community policing would be particularly dependent on the acceptance of the police and the citizens towards the initiative. Lurigio and Skogan (1994), Novak et al (2003) and Goldstein (1987), for example, have suggested that acceptance of the philosophy of community policing by police officers would be crucial to what is achieved in this respect. Other researchers have similarly argued that much depends on the active participation of community residents (Grinc, 1994; Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994), and findings from various studies have suggested that community policing has different types of impacts – sometimes in terms of a modest reduction of crime but with larger impacts on the quality of interaction between the police and the public (Greene, 2000). But generally there has been little agreement over the impacts and this has enabled sceptics of community policing to argue that its success has in no way yet been conclusively established (Kennedy and Moore, 1995 p. 274; Bayley and Shearing, 2009 p. 598).

When reviewing the impacts of community policing it is important to be aware not only of this lack of consensus on its success, but also on its goals in the eyes of police and citizens (see for example, Wilson, 1993). In this chapter, however, where the focus is on the impacts of community policing through the eyes of police and citizens in the four localities, it is important to bear in mind that: a) what is successful for a group of citizens or police in one location may hardly be relevant for others in a different place

and b) any pre-conceived notion of the success of community policing is unlikely to capture the complex expectations of police and citizens, respectively.

Of course the search for impacts of community policing that are felt to be positive in the eyes of police and citizens would be unlikely to yield unequivocally clear and simple notions of ‘success’ in the sense of the conventional notions that are routinely assessed and discussed in police and governmental circles (for example, those which tend to be expressed in quantitative indicators of crime reduction – and which could be argued tend to suppress a heterogeneity of views). As we will see, alternative views held by interviewees can question a narrowly defined impact of crime reduction on the community and can provide other positive impacts of community policing

Instead a more diverse and ‘looser’ set of impacts were probably to be expected from police and citizens interviewed, for example, concerning police-citizen relationships as a result of particular initiatives in a neighbourhood or concerning the positive impacts mainly on one party (e.g. benefits of the police because of the reorganisation of policing). As such, an analysis of different individual perspectives on the impacts of community policing is much in accordance with the social constructivist approach of this research as a whole, and would be likely to highlight a complex and context-sensitive set of conceptualisations.

This chapter is divided into three broad sections. First the key impacts in the UK are described, looking in turn at four views of success from respondents, first in the South Birmingham area (building trust in the police, addressing antisocial behaviour, helping

victims of crime to report crime and positive perceptions of the light weaponry of police officers) then in South Worcestershire, (where the key views on success concerned the addressing of antisocial behaviour, fundraising for a Police Charity Fund and the facilitation of dialogue and conflict resolution among members of the community).

The second section describes key impacts in Mexico. In the Federal District various positive impacts are discussed (including the improved sense of respect for police officers, the establishment of a musical band for young people, the clearing of some of the public spaces of unlicensed street vendors, and the restructuring of the police organisation). In respect of the Centre of the State of Mexico the positive impacts identified by respondents included the setting up of school committees, engaging citizens in reporting on drug dealing activity, and improved familiarity between residents and police.

Then, in the third section of the chapter, the most significant contrasts between the four locations are examined and consideration is given to perceived gaps in the impacts of community policing and issues that might perhaps become stronger priorities into the future.

6.1. IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN THE UK: VIEWS FROM SOUTH BIRMINGHAM AND SOUTH WORCESTERSHIRE

The impacts discussed in this section and presented as vignettes illustrate how police and citizens interviewed in the two localities in the UK articulated and constructed their notions of success in their particular local contexts. To contextualise each impact story, a brief description of the pertinent background factors is provided ahead of examining the pointers for success as perceived by the interviewees.

As indicated, in the case of South Birmingham, the pointers for successes cited by the interviewees included the building of trust, the addressing of antisocial behaviour, the provision of help to victims of crime in overcoming their fear of reporting the incidents formally to the police, and the positive impression given by light weaponry on police officers. In South Worcestershire, on the other hand, the particular pointers for successes that were cited included addressing antisocial behaviour (as in South Birmingham), fund raising for a Police Charity Fund (in order to help victims of crime or fund youth projects) and the facilitation of dialogue and conflict resolution between members of the community.

6.1.1. South Birmingham: pointers for success

6.1.1.1. Building trust in the police

Building trust in the police was one of the pointers for successes cited by the police and citizens' interviewed. As discussed in Chapter 4, police officers' concern with building trust reflects its association with other key priorities in community policing such as improving awareness of citizens' needs and being more responsive to those needs. In that chapter the difficulties in this respect were highlighted, particularly the problem of reconciling a range of different expectations. But it was also suggested that building trust was difficult because, according to some police officers, not all citizens' needs were perceived to be high priority for the police. Moreover, looking beyond the data gathered in this research, the challenge has been amplified by a decline in public trust in the UK, as recognised by a number of scholars⁷¹ (Roberts and Hough, 2005 p.64; Bradford et al, 2009).

Against such a background, then, perhaps any community policing initiative aimed at building trust by seeking to address citizens' needs might be regarded as a significant pointer for success. As two interviewees (one citizen and one police officer) said:

“Part of the problem we had in lack of confidence is that, you know, politicians producing lots of statistics, but they weren't actually trusted. What we have seen

⁷¹ For a critical perspective on whether levels of trust in the public sector (including the police) might be declining see Van de Walle et al (2008), for a critical perspective on whether levels of confidence in police might be declining and why see Bradford, et al (2009).

since the roll out of neighbourhood policing is significant increase in confidence in local policing ... the police are saying, you've set the priorities and we've helped you, do this and by doing that and your priorities have indicated that together, we've managed to reduce crime and improve your quality of life" (Citizen who was also a Councillor in South Birmingham)

"I think the community is probably starting to see that the problems they bring to us are getting solved... it's still good when you can go back and tell them that the problem they were having, whether it be littering, graffiti or whatever, that may seem low level to us, but is important to them, is actually being done... This is building trust" (Police Sergeant in South Birmingham)

Indeed, various scholars have argued that a strong emphasis on understanding citizens' expectations is likely to be a key factor to the building of trust (see Newton, 2001 p. 202; Misztal, 1996 p. 124) since communities might then see that police do indeed share their priorities (see Stoutland, 2001 p. 227; Newton, 2001 p. 202; Hosmer, 1995 p. 390; Sztompka, 1999 p. 70; Lane, 1998 p. 9). The comment above illustrates how the local police in this locality were seeking to construct a notion of success which is more aligned with that of the citizens in respect to their priorities and needs. The same police officer went on to say:

"They might not be that impressed that we've cut crime by 50% in the last five years, because the kids are still drinking on the street corner, so their concept of what the police are doing is not very good... (therefore) if someone asks us to do something

and if we do that and they can see we're doing that, then I think there's trust starting to being built..." (Police Sergeant in South Birmingham)

This might suggest that the police need to consider (at least) two versions of 'success', one based largely on crime reduction and the other derived from citizens' perspectives which might relate to local matters other than crime. This interviewee suggested that, besides the difficulties of building trust, another challenge was to adapt police performance to different versions of success in building trust (Paoline et al, 2000 p.576; Ford et al, 1999; Ford et al, 2003). Building trust by understanding citizens' concerns could indeed imply a series of 'belief transformations' and be complicated by competing values within the police force (Ford et al, 2003; Novak et al, 2003 p. 68), as the following comment from a police community support officer illustrates:

"Crime has come down, which I know isn't our focus, but I mentioned it because it reflects that more people inform us of what's going on.... that is because they have stronger links with us, they trust us more" (Police Community Support Officer in South Birmingham)

Moreover, indicative of the interdependence between the personal context (of the individual officer) and the wider organisational context (of policing) when building trust, the same interviewee added:

"One of our aim as West Midlands Police is to inspire trust with our communities...without trust there, I think people were less willing to talk to me,

and Police in general... so it's a good indicator to show the results from our neighbourhood policing, from how much they are talking to us, from how much we are fulfilling our promises" (Police Community Support Officer in South Birmingham)

Building trust at the interpersonal level (by fulfilling actions agreed with local citizens) and building trust at the institutional level were seen as closely connected –as has been suggested by scholars such as Tyler and Huo (2002 p. 130). This is because in their face-to-face encounters with citizens, the police would not only be addressing the particular problem or request that had been raised, but also in which positive perceptions of the police as an institution may be built or reinforced (Tyler and Huo, 2002 p. 130). In that sense, the comment above illustrates that, in building interpersonal trust, the police officers and police community support officer were also aiming to build trust at an institutional level. This, in turn, reflects a wider assumption in current policing policy, namely that confidence in the police in general is likely to be influenced by personal encounters and experience with individual officer (Bradford et al, 2009).

In the following sections a series of vignettes are presented that were raised and discussed by various interviewees in South Birmingham and which illustrate in more detail the range of ways in which community policing is conceived as having successful impacts.

6.1.1.2. Addressing antisocial behaviour through support for a local boxing club

Being effective in addressing antisocial behaviour is relevant in this locality mainly because it reflects the resolution of multiple conflicting interests not only within a community but also in terms of the different roles that can be taken by the police. On one hand, the police face conflicting roles in their contact with young people that have to do with law enforcement and peacekeeping (White, 1994 p. 188). On the side of the community, antisocial behaviour tends to be understood as the misuse of the public space by youth as socializing youth areas by some adults in the community, which demand from the police firm action, therefore adding more pressure and making more complex the concept of success.

Some members of the police in a deprived area in South Birmingham along with other members of the community worked together to establish a boxing club for young people in the neighbourhood of Bartley Green. This initiative reflected the desire on the part of the police to create positive opportunities that might avoid vulnerable young people, particularly those from deprived neighbourhoods, being sucked into habits of anti-social behaviour and crime and then finding themselves in serious trouble in the criminal justice system (see for example, Goldson, 2003). Several interlinked and positive aspects were specifically mentioned by the police interviewed here, among them were: spending more time with the youth participants and getting to know each other; building a more constructive relationship between young people and the police; providing something to attract youngsters off the street (at the time of the research the club had

more than 40 members⁷²); providing the youngsters with a place to socialise with other people interested in boxing; promoting fitness and healthy lifestyles; and responding in a constructive way to the demands of other members of the community for antisocial behaviour on the streets to be addressed. Two interviewees respectively discussed the initiative as follows:

“We go into the youth club, we spend time with them and then on the streets outside of the youth club, when we are in uniform, they recognise us, they talk to us. I think it’s helped to break the barriers between the Police and the youths on the street and it helped reduce antisocial behaviour around the area” (Police Community Support Officer in South Birmingham)

“Helping set up the club the boxing club in Bartley Green it’s a fantastic opportunity to take youngsters off the street and hits so many levels, in terms of their fitness, taking them off the street, giving them something to be interested in and proud of” (Detective Inspector in South Birmingham)

The Detective Inspector went on to suggest that setting the club ‘hits’ many levels and represented success in multiple forms (for the police, the adult community and the young people). Indeed, police engagement with youths has been traditionally seen as problematic⁷³ and therefore any improvement in the relationship would seem to

⁷² According to West Midlands Police, “the boxing club has become a hugely popular meeting place for youngsters” (see West Midlands Police, 2011).

⁷³ Besides the factors already mentioned, there are other key factors that tend to problematise police-youth relationships. For example, police statistics may not only portray young people as problematic in terms of antisocial behaviour but may also associate them with crime (see Hagel, 2007 p. 128), and this

represent success in the eyes of the community. Moreover, at the same time as adding a new activity and created fresh opportunities for young people, it addressed a key concern of other members of the community, notably the potential for antisocial behaviour on the streets. In sum, this vignette shows a more elaborated notion of success in comparison to conventional ones (i.e. law enforcement) as it deals simultaneously with police concerns, youth needs and community's needs.

6.1.1.3. Reporting crime to the police

Convincing citizens to report crime to the police was also considered to be an important success in South Birmingham as far as some police officers in this locality were concerned⁷⁴. This was all the more so because it is generally recognised that reporting crime has not always been a priority for citizens. As Tyler and Fagan (2008) have argued, people may sometimes see little immediate personal utility in reporting crime, and indeed might even fear high costs of doing so, especially if there is a risk of retaliation. Because of this, Tyler and Fagan (2008) have argued that simple appeals by the police on grounds of good citizenship and self-interest are unlikely to be especially effective in winning citizen cooperation in this respect. Accordingly the police have been seeking to develop more personal approaches to the promotion of crime reporting. One such initiative mentioned by police officers in South Birmingham concerned their efforts to convince a reluctant victim (and older woman from a disadvantaged

can raise confrontational expectations on the part of the police. Statistically, the identities of the young people can be constructed upon notions of crime despite that police statistics might be a limited and biased source to infer the 'nature' of the young behaviour.

⁷⁴ It is also relevant because it links to the concern of the Ministry of Justice, who reported that only 29% of the offenders are caught in relation to crimes committed in Britain (Ministry of Justice, 2011b p.3).

neighbourhood in the area) to make a statement and to participate in an ID parade. The police community support officer said of this case:

“A lady on our area, who was a victim of a distraction burglary, ... she didn’t really want to make a statement, she didn’t really want to go to an ID parade. She knew who it was, but she didn’t feel safe enough to go through with it, and me and my partner X, we spent a lot of time with her, we visited her, we got her out, because obviously, she was a bit fragile after it happened, we got her out of her house, ... as a result of that, she felt our support, ... she was able to give that statement, she was able to go to an ID parade” (Police Community Support Officer in South Birmingham)

Implicitly, this comment alludes to the challenges that both the police and victims of crime face following a crime having being committed and emphasises the potential for diversion from the justice process (see Dingwall and Hardin, 1998 p.5; Box, 2009 p.44)⁷⁵. The quote above also appears to reveal that one of the main reasons the victim did not want to report crime was because of fear and this is an important element shaping the context of this story of success. Some scholars have criticised the lack of understanding of the victim’s fear and feelings of helplessness (see Kidd and Chayet, 1984; Sparks, 1992 p.11). As the community police support officer commented above,

⁷⁵ For example, in reference to the police, it has been commented upon that they firstly need to take seriously the crimes when they come to their knowledge, then find the offender and establish an effective legal case to turn it to the prosecuting authority (Dingwall and Hardin, 1998 p.5; Box, 2009 p.44). Not only that, it is implicit that with victims of crime police may often exercise a kind of clinical judgement and provide a supportive role in social and psychological terms (Cumming et al, 1965 p. 281). On the side of the victims, it has been commented that firstly, they need to decide to report the crime to the police and then cooperate with them in all the steps necessary to reach trial (see Dingwall and Hardin, 1998 p.5; Box, 2009 p.44).

the victim was supported in terms of regaining control about her fears of going out from her house and staying in home isolating herself from the rest of the community. According to some scholars this action would be extremely important given that victims of burglary may attempt to isolate themselves and this could lead to psychological consequences that are even more severe than the victimisation itself (see for example, Brown and Harris, 1988; Hirschel and Rubin, 1982). When we are considering this, it becomes clear that the close relationship that the police community support officers developed with this victim embodied a creative and supportive strategy which dealt simultaneously with the police interests in constructing the legal case against the suspect and with the fear of the victim (at least in reference to cooperate with the police to construct the case). Perhaps from the quantitative point of view this success might be seen as less impressive, however it illustrates how the police break the vicious circle where the lack of citizen cooperation with the police fosters their inefficiency and, in turn, reinforces the lack of citizen trust on them (Bergman and Flom, 2008 p. 1).

6.1.1.4. The positive perception of ‘unarmed’ police officers

Although perhaps of pertinence in the general context of policing in the UK, rather than of community policing specifically, it was interesting that one citizen interviewee should respond to the question about its impact in terms of the unarmed status of the officers. And for the interviewee at least, this was clearly a success factor from her perspective and within the parameters of her argument. She spoke as follows:

“I will say one positive thing, as regards the weapons. I’m glad really our police force doesn’t carry weapons, purely because I think it would encourage even more death... the times where we’ve had bomb scares and you’ve gone to the airport and you’ve seen the police with weapons (sighs) that take my breath away...” (Citizen in South Birmingham)

In her interview she referred to a television debate she had seen about possible changes in the weaponry of the British Police and indicated that for her success was defined by the continuation of an ‘unarmed’ police force⁷⁶. For her, at least, it was clear that weapons carried meanings which served, inter alia, to define the nature of policing and the relationship with the public. In this context, Paskell’s (2007) argument that, because community police officers are not armed and have only limited powers, they can better engage with local residents, workers and organisations, is perhaps noteworthy.

6.1.2. South Worcestershire: pointers for successes

6.1.2.1. Addressing antisocial behaviour: raising funds and the Dragon Boat Race

The examples of impact cited by interviewees in South Worcestershire bore some similarities to those mentioned in South Birmingham, particularly the efforts by the police to address antisocial behaviour, meet young people’s social needs and improve

⁷⁶ The standard complement of weaponry for a community support police officer comprises a side-handled or extendable baton and a CS spray canister (Cooke et al, 2001 p. 150). This is the police which is regularly in contact with the citizens, although when a serious incident occurs, another unit of police, the Armed Response Vehicle, can deal with the matter (Brown et al, 1995 p. 2; Cook, 2001 p.150).

police-youth relationships. In South Worcestershire, however, police and citizens interviewed commented upon a background of reduced financial resources for the police (see for example Newburn, 2007 pp. 233-236; Mear, 2011). As one interviewee put it:

“How can you get the same level of policing service or even a better level of service, when you know there's actually going to be less money?” (Citizen in South Worcestershire)

However, one consequence of financial constraint in this locality was a commitment by the local police to fundraising for community benefit. As one police officer explained:

“We've have been over enthusiastic, and failing to go through proper channels to launch projects which have financial implications... that's a danger, a risk, when you encourage people at a low level in the organisation to start thinking outside the box and when they do it, there is sometimes some unintended consequences (but) we had an open day on Sunday, here at the police station and we had 3,000 people through in four hours and raised over £1,000 for the Police Community Fund” (Police Chief Inspector in South Worcestershire)

This comment not only illustrates the commitment to raise funds but previous unsuccessful attempts in doing so. In that sense, the comment above shows in a clear way how notions of success and failure sometimes co-exist very closely to each other. The Police-Community Fund mentioned in the comment above is a West Mercia Police charity that supports local victims of crime (for example where there is an uninsured

loss, the victim can receive a contribution from the fund) and also provides financial support to youth projects. One such project was a Team Boat Race for young people. The interviewees who talked about this project referred to the positive impact they felt it had on those involved and also talked of how it was valued by parents as well. As the local police officer explained:

“We’ve got young people, involved in dragon boat racing, and we had some letters in from parents saying thank you for doing this project and these were problematic people, people who wouldn’t allow police officers across their door”
(Police Chief Inspector in South Worcestershire)

This comment suggests that there were some parents who lacked trust in the police to let them getting closer to them. In this sense, the letters of gratitude may be evocative of a transition from distrust to trust, which have been pointed out by scholars as a difficult transition and transformation to achieve (Lewicki et al, 1998 p.451).

In sum, the funds rising project presented different challenges (even previous failures regarding getting the necessary funds) but serves as a successful basis to implement the youth project mentioned here. The Dragon Boat Race not only addressed antisocial behaviour but was also successful in re-shaping police-youth relationships (and indirectly police-parents relationships) too.

6.1.2.2. Addressing antisocial behaviour: resolving inter-generational conflict

The efforts of the police to respond to complaints about anti-social behaviour by a group of young people by mediation with the complainants was also highlighted in South Worcestershire as making a positive contribution locally. A local citizen explained that:

“Where I live –in X–, there was a group of youths, who were the source of constant complaints to the Police by local residents, who were old people. And the community support officer could see that actually the nuisance that these youths were creating, was actually pretty low level and, and he managed to get the old residents and the young people talking together and it’s resolved their problem in a way which has not got really much to do with the operation of the criminal justice system” (Citizen in South Worcestershire)

Mediating between the generations in this way, as the local police community support officer did here. Facilitating dialogue has been a common tool to help the resolution of conflicts between parties (see for example Saunders, 2001; Dukes 1996); this success was seen as highly effective and with positive benefits for the community, as confirmed by the same interviewee:

“Police community support officers are extraordinarily good at their job, but they're not extraordinarily good at telling people what they've done” (Citizen in South Worcestershire)

6.2. IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING: VIEWS FROM THE FEDERAL DISTRICT AND THE CENTRE OF THE STATE OF MEXICO

The impacts discussed in this section and presented as vignettes that illustrate how police and citizens interviewed in the two localities in Mexico articulated and constructed their notions of success in their particular local contexts. To contextualise each impact story, a brief description of the pertinent background factors is provided ahead of examining the pointers for success as perceived by the interviewees.

The pointers for success cited refer first into the Federal District (relating in turn to the police feeling more respected, to a police initiative to support the establishment of a musical band for children, the clearing of unlicensed street vendors from public spaces, and the restructuring of the police); then, they refer to the Centre of the State of Mexico (setting up of school committees, achieving more reporting of drug dealing activity, and increased familiarity between residents and police).

6.2.1. Federal District: pointers for success

6.2.1.1. Feeling respected: messages of support in a high crime neighbourhood

Within the context of the security challenges faced not only in the Federal District but in Mexico as a whole, lack of respect towards the police on the part of the public was, as indicated earlier, a significant part of the context for this research and therefore forms a key element of the background against which any success in community policing must be judged (see Chapter 4 where some of the meanings attributed to the notion of respect for the police were examined). While the general lack of public appreciation and respect for the police has been well understood, what have perhaps been less well appreciated are the consequences of such disrespect in terms of job dissatisfaction (see Azaola, 2010).

One of the police officers interviewed in Federal District, however, felt that the police had indeed become a little more respected as a result of community policing efforts, commenting:

“Public perception has changed, I think there is more public support, of course the change is not total (but) ... we work now in a better environment where people are greeting us and one feels more motivated because when we go out on the street we don’t know what are we going to face, and if people greet us, say

hello or thank you, you feel their support” (Police Sergeant in the Federal District)

An increase in respect for the police (signalled by greetings and thanks from members of the public) was thus seen as a success attributed to community policing and this generally accords with expectations discussed several academic studies (see for example, Hayeslip and Cordner, 1987; Skogan and Harnett, 1997 p. 108). What was also interesting in this research, however, was to contextualise how the interviewee constructed his perception of success in this respect. This was a police officer who worked in a high crime neighbourhood, where the police-resident relationships had the potential to be extremely disruptive (see for example, Tapio, 2007 p. 417; Thacher, 2001a). Therefore, this also explains why the perception that there was an increase in respect towards the police in such a high crime neighbourhood would therefore seem extremely positive by this interviewee. As Velez (2001) has argued, the success of community policing in relatively crime-free neighbourhoods might well be likely to enhance quality of life in the neighbourhood but perhaps only in a modest way. However, small improvements in more disadvantaged areas might be likely to produce ‘enhanced effects’ as the problems would be more pronounced (Velez, 2001 pp. 841-842).

On the other hand, the police officer quoted above argues that the greetings are signs of respect; some scholars have also argued that greetings may be interpreted in this way (see for example, Migge, 2005). Perhaps these signs of respect become more relevant when considering that the police officers interviewed tend to feel alienated from the

society. Again, some scholars have reported that alienation is a common feeling among the police (see for example, Bennett and Schmitt, 2002). Therefore, the public greetings at a time when there are feelings of alienation from the public explain also why the officer quoted above feels there is an increase in respect and why this is an important success.

On the other hand, the feelings of alienation experienced by many police officers were also highlighted in the research, as the following comment illustrates:

“I think that, sometimes, citizens lose sight that we, as police, we are also citizens- I’m a mother who is also concerned with the public security like everyone else, I pay taxes, I’m equally a citizen. Then, as we are trying to improve our relationships with the citizens, I also expect them to respect us. I expect that they can understand that we are as anybody else we need to feel respected and motivated in our job” (Police Director in the Federal District)

6.2.1.2. Setting up a music band with children in a high crime neighbourhood

One of the objectives mentioned in the Federal District was that police should seek to improve the public image of policing through more focus on community relations to tackle people’s fear of the police and the force’s coercive image. In a particularly high crime neighbourhood, where police-citizen relationships had been almost dysfunctional, one citizen interviewee claimed with pride that:

“We’ve organised a musical band involving by girls and boys with the collaboration of the community and the support of the police who, among other things, have donated the musical instruments. I think this allows us to have a different perception of them, it allows us to have a closer relationship with them because the relationship is different from that of the traditional police which is more coercive and which we observed much more before in Mexico City”
(Citizen who was also a Citizen Representative in the Federal District)

This particular interviewee also talked of his involvement in several other cultural and educational projects in the area, and indicated his belief that, rather than by heavy-handed law enforcement, this was the way to “transform the society” from the problems of violence and crime; this idea also resembles the works of some scholars (see for example McCarthy et al, 2003). Talking specifically of community policing, he went on to say that:

“I think this kind of proximity (enhanced by the musical band) is very important because the police in the Federal District struggle to develop closer relationships with us citizens- with so many people in this city is really difficult- and as said before, this (musical band) allows the police to change their negative image of abuses of authority and coercion” *(Citizen who was also a Citizen Representative in the Federal District)*

In contrast to the boxing club in South Birmingham, this pointer to success is illustrative of the community taking the initiative and the police providing support and becoming

involved because of the potential benefits they envisaged – of reducing the likelihood of juvenile crime and violence and improving relations with the community. In certain sense, this success is an example of how the idea that the police are *the* crime-fighters can be re-examined; similar academic findings where the communities take the initiative and the police are only a supportive part have been reported by Fagan (1987). This community-led initiative goes in opposition to the pessimistic views about the lack of cohesion of communities in high crime neighbourhoods (see for example, Sampson and Groves, 1989).

6.2.1.3. Clearing unlicensed street vendors from the city centre

Removing street vendors from public spaces was interestingly not a priority/purpose mentioned by the interviewees when asked to describe the priorities and purposes of community policing, but was anyway mentioned as a positive impact of community by police interviewees. To contextualise this success it is pertinent to mention that this success refers to an issue that has been especially problematic and sensitive in Mexico City – that of the huge numbers of vendors informally operating on the streets and in other public places, and doing so without registration for tax purposes or licenses regulating their activities (e.g. food hygiene, equipment safety etc.). The issue has been sensitive both with the properly licensed vendors who have objected to the unfair competition to their trade, and many members of the public who have been unhappy

about the escalation in the volume of street-trading and the associated littering and space restriction on the footways (Penna, 2000; Crossa, 2009).⁷⁷

One police officer pointed out precisely why he felt this to have been such a significant success in community policing – by explaining the fact that some 23,000 unlicensed vendors had been moved on from some of the most important public spaces in the city centre and all without any backlash or trouble from those involved. In his words:

“This was done without hurting anyone or using the force. It was done by persuading and talking to the people for over a year! This was achieved by having proximity with them, having meetings with them and providing them with options to solve the conflict. The society in all Mexico said, ‘No, it’s not going to be possible to remove them’. We did it and now you see the streets cleared. We managed to recover the City Centre without using force” (Police Director in the Federal District)

The comment above highlights that there was widespread incredulity that street vendors in the City Centre of Mexico could be removed. For example, the media reported statements of several leaders of the street vendors saying that they will take several actions to impede their removal (see El Universal 2007). Also, similar attempts before

⁷⁷ Informal commerce has been one major public conflict in Mexico City and one major conflict between street vendors and the police (see for example Pena, 2000). On one hand, informal vendors carry out their activities on public streets and public spaces that were not designed for that purpose, they represent fiscal evasion and have developed their own systems of regulations that could challenge the efforts of the government to regulate them (Crossa, 2009; Pena, 2000). On the other hand, the public conflict these street vendors create with the formal vendors is greatly influenced by the illegal competition, where only the latter ones have to rent an area and pay taxes, therefore offering their products at a price that considers costs and incomes (Crossa, 2009).

have caused violent interactions between police and street vendors; the same problem has existed in other states of the country, such as in the State of Mexico where violent outbreaks between police and citizens have been notable (see report of the Supreme Court of Justice of Mexico, 2006). Because of this context, perhaps the most relevant characteristic of the success has to do with the removal of this large number of informal vendors *without* using force.

Particularly in the Mexican context, this, indeed, was a significant impact of community policing – demonstrating how a non-coercive strategy could address a sensitive local problem in a non-conflictual manner considering the needs of different parts in conflict, namely the government, the police, the formal street vendors and the informal street vendors (who were re-located in places designated for commerce). It also demonstrated the value of a democratic approach, as opposed to a more coercive and enforcing one, in achieving an outcome that was desired by the law-abiding majority.

6.2.1.4. Restructuring the police organisation for more effective community policing

As with the previous success, the one mentioned here was interestingly not a priority/purpose mentioned by the interviewees when asked to describe the priorities and purposes of community policing, but was anyway mentioned as a positive impact of community by police officers. To contextualise this success other scholars had been advocated for the restructuration of the police (see for example Azaola, 2010). In doing so, scholars such as Azaola (2010) have argued that any police reform project if it is to

produce deep changes must take police's needs. Before the restructuration of the police, Azaola conducted a research in 2001 in the police in the Federal District, and pointed that the deplorable working conditions have generated a sense of abandonment or lack of protection among police officers, leading to their growing loss of interest in properly fulfilling their duties (Azaola, 2010 p. 126).

According to several of the police interviewed in the Federal District, some important organisational changes were underway after decades of stagnation, and which had been designed to improve the motivation and commitment of officers to effect a better relationship with local communities. It was, in effect, reorganisation to enable and support community policing. A key issue in the reorganisation was pay – which for officers 'on the beat' meant an increase in wages from around 3,000 pesos per two-week period to around 4,250 pesos, equivalent to around GBP 430 monthly (Azaola, 2010 p. 127). In addition, opportunities for career advancement were also improved and several police officers were promoted as a result – all of which, unsurprisingly, was seen by the officers as positive organisational change. One of such police officers said:

“One of the successes has been that with the implementation of this program, we have now a strong commitment on developing a positive, closer relationship with the citizens. I think this change in police's attitudes wouldn't be the same without the motivation we feel because of these changes at the organisational level; the promotions are one very clear example of this” (Police Director in one of the boroughs of the Federal District)

The process of change here was further put into context as follows:

“The police was abandoned for about 30 years... We have adopted a radical change in the last 7-8 years.... Every day we try to create awareness of this change.... Some of the police officers have been fired because they don't understand and want to continue doing stupid things This is an institution where in some years more, it will have the police totally professionalised and will be all dedicated to serve properly the community” (Police Director in the Federal District)

As implied by the officer, this attempt to equip the organisation better to provide effective community policing also involved some difficult decisions and actions, including addressing firmly unethical and corrupt behaviour and requiring a more professional and community oriented approach from those in the force. As with other cases of success discussed in this chapter, this notion of success is not clearly the opposite of failure. This allows us to see that the process of change is not a clear, sequential process from malpractice to consolidated good practice, rather it might entail the co-existence of different states of success and failure.

6.2.2. Centre of the State of Mexico: pointers for success

6.2.2.1. Setting up school committees as channels for community participation

An initiative in the Centre of the State of Mexico which was cited as a success of community policing was directly about getting closer and engaging with the community in certain schools within deprived areas. Winning acceptance by the schools and parent groups and the commitment of the local communities to participate in the efforts to promote and support community policing was an obvious and yet important indicator of success for several interviewees in this locality, all the more so given the deprived nature of the area in question (see also Grinc, 1994; Rosenbaum and Lurigio, 1994; Reisig and Parks, 2004).

But the initiative was not without its difficulties and several police officers commented that the support of school directors, of parents and of the children was not easily won. After much careful social work and persistence though, several committees directly linking the police with the schools in joint working were established. One police officer commented:

“At the beginning, proximity police officers were not welcome in the schools. At the time they realised that (our social work in schools) was in benefit of their children, their family, then they started helping us. How? They organised committees in each school. Having the committees has been a big step because in

this way they can tell us what their needs are and because then we started organising strategies from there” (Beat Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

The comment above suggests that police have gained legitimacy among the school community members. Gaining also their cooperation by setting up the school committees, can be regarded as a notable success, especially when there are reports in the literature of the fierce scrutiny that the police often face when they want to get involved in schools (see Jackson, 2002).

The same police officer added:

When I say we organise strategies, I’m not referring just to the police, we encourage the parents to take co-responsibility in crime control and prevention. We also request the support of the teachers in addressing the issues that many of the schools have such as vandalism, drug selling...” (Beat Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Achieving the establishment of these school committees was regarded as successful particularly because they were felt to provide genuine opportunities for community participation and engagement, not, as many academics have often argued, just symbolic or tokenistic gestures (Arnstein, 1969; Retolaza, 2008; Walters et al, 2000).

6.2.2.2. Achieving more reporting of drug dealing activity

Achieving more public reporting of drug dealing activity in the neighbourhoods was cited as a critical success factor of community policing in this locality because it was felt directly to represent an increase in confidence in the police. Indeed, one of the most significant issues in policing at the national level in Mexico has been the low rate of crime reporting to the police (according to the civil institute ICESI, some 85% of the crimes committed go unreported – see ICESI, 2009 p. 82)⁷⁸. Of particular concern here of course would be the incidence of drug dealing in, and in the vicinity of school communities. As one police officer working with the schools said:

“In this area we are concerned with drug dealing and we’d had positive results thanks to citizen support, they trust us by calling and telling the description of the persons who are selling drugs and the locations where they sell it, and then we’d looked for those people and made the detention” (Beat Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

As discussed in other chapters, a major challenge for the police is to get people to report crimes of which they are victims, let alone criminal activity of which they become aware, but in which they are not directly involved. And two serious issues here have been, on the one hand, fear of reprisal by delinquents and criminals and, on the other,

⁷⁸ One relevant implication, as the civil institute ICESI has argued, is that the police usually base their priorities and strategies only on this 15% of the crimes they know- which obviously represents a tiny amount (ICESI ,2009 p. 82).

fear of the police themselves. In respect one of the police officers interviewed commented as follows:

“Given that most of the times people are afraid to report something to the police because they fear revenge from the criminals, then we have an anonymous process to report where the people do not have any contact with us and can leave in a box their reports.... many of those reports are drug-related...” (Beat Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

6.2.2.3. Increased familiarity between residents and police

Linked with this issue of crime reporting, one further pointer to success through community policing mentioned by several interviewees in the Centre of the State was the development of mutual familiarity between police and citizens. One citizen commented that the officers ascribed to her neighbourhood had developed close and positive relationships with most of the residents and she knew one of the police officers particularly well. Within the broader troubled context of policing and security in Mexico, this was perceived to be a significant success for this person – who observed that:

“The police officers in this neighbourhood are very close to us, we haven’t had any problem with them, that they are linked to delinquents or anything like that, I think we are fortunate to have here police officers with vocation” (Citizen in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

Such a comment takes us to the heart of the notion of ‘closeness’ in community policing and underlines the importance of familiarity between police and citizens as a key attribute from the citizens’ viewpoint within the context of the infiltration of organized crime into police institutions.

6.3. COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON THE IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING

This final subsection of the chapter is concerned with key impacts of community policing from a comparative perspective and focuses in particular on three of the pointers to success that have been highlighted from the preceding case-studies: first, the positive meaning of having ‘unarmed’ police officers in the UK, second, the significance of addressing antisocial behaviour through a non-coercive approach, particularly in the UK, and third, the importance for the police to feel respected particularly in Mexico.

One of the key differences with regard to perceived successes between the Mexican and the UK case-studies is of course that of differences in relation to the arming of police officers – routinely the case in Mexico but in the UK only when special permissions are given for special circumstances – and only for use by officers trained in weapons use – so, as a matter of course, excluding all police community support officers. Although this issue of an armed or unarmed police force is, for the most part, to be considered as quite separate from that of the implementation of community policing, there is nevertheless a

link in terms of context at least. For an ‘unarmed’ police officer can, as the comments heard in the UK demonstrated, be seen as reinforcing the notions of ‘policing by consent’ and of ‘democratic control of policing’ (see for example, Cooper, 1984 p. 143; Waddington, 1999 p. 156). Such notions which apply so obviously in the UK contrast starkly with the situation in Mexico, which has a long tradition of armed police forces and which, as a result of the security crisis in the country, has increasingly moved towards to a militaristic model (with contracting of more personnel with military experience – see for example, Astorga and Shirk, 2010 p.48; Moloeznik, 2010a pp. 79-81) and potentially harming the ideals of positive police-citizen engagement (see for example Waddington, 1999 pp. 154-155)⁷⁹. This potentially negative influence was refuted by one senior police officer in the Federal District, when he stated:

“We are civilians armed, concerned with offering a service oriented to the community, we are not a military unit” (Police Director in the Federal District)

The negative influence of a military philosophy and tactics has been topic of extended debate, particularly within the Human Rights Commission. For example, the Human Rights Commission in the Federal District presented the results of a citizen consultation; among the cautions made by this commission was that the police were at risk of following military models rather than models of civilian police (see CDHDF, 2009)⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ Of course, there are other scholars who argue that this strategy of incorporating military personnel to the police may be aimed at creating an image of prestige based on discipline and a strong image of crime-fighters (see for example, Bittner, 1975 p.53; Klockars, 2005).

⁸⁰ Scholars have also warned of the temptation of the police to project a tough disciplined image to fight crime, given certain levels of popular demand for tough approaches in policing to fight (see for example, Moloeznik, 2010). Indeed, academic institutions have reported that 30% of the Mexican population agrees to fight crime using violent tactics including torturing and executions of criminals (this according a

On the other hand, the lack of weapons in the police in the State of Mexico has been welcomed by some school directors. This, according to some police officers interviewed, for instance, one of them said:

“We are not armed and this has the purpose of helping us to develop another image with the kids, we’ve actually received very good comments from school directors who tell us that they are pleased with how we look without guns and how we are carrying out social work in the schools” (Beat Police Officer in the Centre of the State of Mexico)

The fact that the police officers working in schools in the State of Mexico are not armed constitutes a very rare case, more in particular, in a time where the violence in Mexico is at its peak. According to one Police Director, not carrying weapons is a condition to be able to work within the schools, but also, they aim at “avoiding causing fear to the community”. This unit of community policing represents the utopian image of the police in Mexico, in respect to be an ‘unarmed’ police looking for the acceptance and cooperation of the communities in order to address their needs.

The successes regarding the addressing of antisocial behaviour, illustrated a democratic notion of success which considered the needs of different parts involved. In this sense,

National Poll, see UNAM, 2011). Furthermore, the trend in the country towards militarisation of the police and the use of military to combat organised crime not only raises concerns of human rights violations but also of the nature of the democracy in Mexico (Weeks, 2011). Considering this, it can be argued that reinforcing a military mentality in the police to fight crime is likely to erode the already weak, collaborative relationships between the police and the citizens in Mexico. In turn, this might relegate key ideals of community policing such as working with the citizens and letting them have a say in the policing agenda (a characteristic of democracy).

the police were able to deal simultaneously with police concerns of social order, youth needs of socialisation and needs of other members of the community regarding the perceived antisocial behaviour on the streets.

A different kind of success refers to the need of feeling respected on the part of the police in Mexico. The severe criticisms to which they are subjected is likely to develop a strong sense of alienation in some police officers. Therefore, feeling respected as a result of implementing community policing is not only relevant but necessary so they can feel reasonably satisfied in performing their job. Perhaps the ideal opposite of that lack of respect and lack of satisfaction associated with being a police officer is embodied in the figures of ‘special police constables’ in the UK. This type of police are recruited appealing to the sense of reward provided by being a police constable who can do something worthwhile for the community *without* being paid (see for example, Metropolitan Police, 2011).

Aside from the contrasts across locations in terms of the successes cited by the interviewees, there seems to be a common issue which is difficult to ignore. The issue refers to possible gaps in addressing key priorities and problems of community policing that were *mentioned by the interviewees* in Chapter 4. For example, while there is roughly a correspondence⁸¹ between the successes discussed here and the issues and priorities discussed in Chapter 4, none of the interviewees in the UK alluded to

⁸¹ The general correspondence is concerning antisocial behaviour, community safety, addressing citizen’s needs and dealing with common crime (see sections “Perception of context” and “Perceptions of community policing: understandings of its purposes and priorities” in Chapter 4).

successes regarding the prevention of extremism⁸². Applying the same critical perspective, there are gaps in addressing key issues mentioned by the Mexican interviewees in Chapter 4. In particular, the gaps refer to preventive measures regarding organised crime. While this is not surprising given that current approaches to combat organised crime are relying basically on the military (Flores-Perez, 2009; Moloeznik, 2010a)⁸³, the problem is that this has been ineffective (Moloeznik, 2010b) and therefore the police need to take a stronger role in prevention⁸⁴. Despite that the police and the citizens interviewed are extremely concerned about crimes such as kidnappings and drug selling, little reference was made when referring to the positive impacts- although there are efforts in the State of Mexico to combat drug selling around schools. These issues that refer to possible gaps in addressing key priorities and problems of community policing in Mexico and the UK will be one of the points discussed in the final chapter.

⁸² Preventing extremism was one of the purposes of community policing according to several police officers interviewed. Indeed, although rare, there was also one citizen representative in South Birmingham who said that in community policing “*you do need the co-operation and active consent of the local communities to actually find out, you know, what is actually going on ... even for things like serious organised crime, counter terrorism*”. Not only various interviewees thought that community policing, as part of policing is concerned with counter-terrorism, indeed this idea has also been argued in the literature of policing (see Innes, 2005; McGarrell et al, 2008; Murray 2005; Spalek et al ,2008). For example, Murray (2005 p. 348) has said that if one considers that the police depend on community support to control and prevent crime, “the same principles clearly apply to the prevention of terrorist acts”.

⁸³ Mexico has relied heavily on the military to combat drug trafficking, deploying troops for crop eradication and other counter-drug operations, enlisting military personnel in civilian law enforcement posts, and utilizing soldiers in other day-to-day order maintenance functions (see Flores-Pérez, 2009 and Moloeznik, 2010).

⁸⁴ This becomes extremely important given that it is estimated that around 8 million children and young people are socially excluded; they are neither working *nor studying* (Red por los Derechos de la Infancia en Mexico, 2011 p.36). In addition, there are reports of relevant civil associations that point that there is a vast recruitment of children and young people by organised crime to sell drugs, pack it, kill other people; the estimates refer to 35,000 girls and boys (see Red por los Derechos de la Infancia en Mexico, 2011 p.36).

Conclusions

One of the most important conclusions to arise from this chapter is that any attempt to capture the full range of notions about the impact of community policing is unlikely to be successful because of the complex nature of expectations and experiences of the police and citizens, respectively. That said, the particular pointers to success that have been discussed in this chapter and which, it should be emphasised, derived from the interviewees rather than from any official evaluation, have illustrated a more complex, non-simple view about the relationship between the police, the community, the context and the impact of community policing. The perspectives of the interviewees not only demonstrated the diversity of thinking about the impacts of community policing but also were notable for reaching well beyond some of the conventionally assumed views on this subject – most obviously crime reduction and law enforcement (i.e. arrests). More than anything, the interviewees' comments can extend our understanding of the impact of community policing as they draw attention to a number of other, essentially more subtle, 'smaller', and yet no less positive, impacts.

Another key conclusion is that the expectations of the community may be diverse and, at times, conflicting with each other and consequently the notions of success too. For example, several police officers indicated that citizens might not be so aware of, or impressed by, what for them, were the 'big' achievements, such as crime reduction, if they continued to see that the problems of local significance to them still persisted. Understanding citizens' expectations of police becomes one way for the police to

become critical about their own notions of success. Understanding different expectations of the community, that at times seem in conflict among with each other, can put pressure on the police to develop more complex successful practices that make it possible to represent and protect different interests of the different parties (i.e the police and different members of the community). The youth projects organised in South Birmingham and South Worcestershire are examples of these notions of success which address different expectations of different parties. In a similar way, a more democratic and elaborated notion of success (beyond law enforcement) was seen in Mexico in the Federal District in the process of negotiation and persuasion with street vendors regarding their removal (and re-location) without using police force.

Another key conclusion is that the vignettes mentioned by the police and citizens interviewed illustrate how community policing can have positive impacts in very adverse and difficult circumstances. For example, in the UK there were successes which showed how the police managed to break the common vicious circle of the lack of citizen cooperation with the police. As mentioned earlier, this happened when the citizens have become a victim of crime and were convinced by the police to report the crime; or when police helped to de-escalate conflicts among youngsters and other members of the community by facilitating dialogues among them. In Mexico, notorious antagonism between police and citizens was addressed in terms of the police being successful at engaging with communities with whom they had had bad relationships or with whom the police had lacked acceptance and legitimacy (the examples mentioned were street vendors in the case of the Federal District and school communities in the State of Mexico).

It has been considered crucial to have evidence that community policing works (Kennedy and Moore, 1995 p. 274). The approach taken in this chapter highlights that community policing can work even in difficult contexts but behind this 'evidence' there are questions of who defines what is successful and how does the context of policing look like in terms of the issues and goals for that community? Successes of policing have traditionally focused on crime indicators, which remain a key element on police performance. However, if this is the era of community policing, it is important to consider how the social actors at the local level define its impact and to allow having more qualitative, flexible and local notions of success. This will likely mean that success is not a clear, sequential process from malpractice to consolidated good practice, but will provide more sophisticated and nuanced ways of understanding the impacts of community policing.

CHAPTER 7

KEY CONCLUSIONS AND WINDOWS OF OPPORTUNITY FOR FUTURE

PRACTICE

The purpose of this thesis has been to develop insights and build understanding about community policing based on the variety of understandings and views from different social contexts. The following *research questions* provided the focus of this investigation:

1. *What is community policing - and how does it differ from other key approaches of policing?*
2. *What have been the key drivers in recent years for the development and application of community policing?*
3. *How important as a driver has trust been in the conception of community policing?.*
4. *How do police and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing?*
5. *How do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?*
6. *To what extent is there alignment in understanding of community policing between citizens and police?*
7. *How do police and citizens regard the impacts of community policing?*

In seeking insights on such questions, and given the diversity of viewpoints on community policing, it was considered important to seek to understand community policing not in isolation but in the wider context of different approaches and theoretical perspectives about the purposes and functioning of policing, such as the law-enforcement or professional policing. Also, given the constructivist and theoretical arguments about the importance of context (comprised in this thesis primarily of social actors and geographical settings), this research was designed as a comparative study that focused on the practical context of community policing. As such, it placed the views of police and citizens at the centre of the field enquiry in order to understand community policing at the local level and within its different geographical contexts. The following paragraphs summarise the key findings, implications and conclusions according to the chapters and the research questions.

Chapter 1 introduced key unresolved issues and key questions which guide and shape this research. It was argued that the notion of community policing is surrounded by considerable heterogeneity of viewpoints on questions such as: what is community policing expected to do; what are the goals and purposes attributed to it? Why might it be seen in response to so many different problems? What is the role of trust in the conception and practice of community policing? Such questions introduced the main focus of the thesis and pointed to the importance of considering different theoretical perspectives and the views of police and citizens when undertaking research about community policing. Within this context, plurality and complexity have been considered central elements in the building of a more comprehensive understanding of the subject.

Chapter 2 reviewed the literature and located the various contributions made to date in relation to community policing. The three research questions that guided this literature review were: 1) What is community policing - and how does it differ from other key approaches of policing? 2) What have been the key drivers in recent years for the development and application of community policing? And 3) How important as a driver has trust been in the conception of community policing?

Different academic perspectives provided different viewpoints on the subject and on why it has often been favourably viewed and adopted so widely. For some, it has been seen as representing something akin to a 'scientific revolution' (see for example, Oliver and Bartgis, 1998), as heralding a new 'era' in policing (see for example, Kelling and Moore, 1988), as a fresh 'model' (see for example Ponsares, 2001), and as amounting to 'circumlocutions' (Klockars, 2005) for the way it subverts and conceals policing contradictions and dilemmas (e.g. the lack of neutrality of the police in enforcing the law on one hand and the lack of control over police behaviour on the other). Other scholars have conceived community policing simply as one 'style' of policing, which does not require big organisational or philosophical changes in approach (see for example Pakes, 2004). Different theoretical perspectives of community policing were reviewed and the various purposes and goals attributed to it were highlighted; with all such plurality of viewpoints illustrating the complexity of the term.

Having so many different conceptions naturally raises concerns about the capacity of community policing to deliver on those multiple purposes. Considering that the main

vehicle for achieving those purposes more effectively and efficiently is the collaborative relationship between police and citizens, and that these parties are sometimes seen as pursuing different objectives and priorities, the impact of community policing can be further questioned. On the basis of the literature review, the tentative conclusion was drawn that the different theoretical perspectives on community policing cannot be easily accommodated in a single coherent model or theoretical approach, and that greater clarity is needed as to its various purposes and regarding what it ultimately pursues and achieves.

One key lesson from chapter 2 was that community policing is a social phenomenon which is collective and plural by nature, not only in theory, but in practice as well, and that as such, the existence of different viewpoints about it is not necessarily problematic. Each different theoretical approach highlights different characteristics of community policing while perhaps marginalising others. However, overall, the plurality of such conceptions serves to help us understand its complex nature. Another key lesson is that the heterogeneity and plurality of views can contribute to better understanding of the particularities and similarities when comparing two or more cases. For example, while rioting in the 1980s in the UK had been a key driver for the implementation of community policing there, very different circumstances have accounted for its emergence in Mexico. At the same time, the different theoretical approaches have contributed to an understanding of the complex coexistence of different characteristics of community policing within a particular location. This proved particularly helpful in understanding some general characteristics of community policing in Mexico where, to date, research and practice have been very limited. For example, several scholars have

argued that community policing represents a reaction to the professional policing model. This professional model, they argue, had a particularly strong focus within policing on internal resourcing issues - staffing, management and structural organisation - and was based on a (questionable) assumption that, by making improvements in these respects, the police would be able to deal more effectively with crime (Novak et al 2003, p. 57; Goldstein, 1979).

The definitions of community policing, as contrasting with the professional approach, suggested they are two separate and independent models. However, as discussed in later chapters, and particularly in Mexico, community policing clearly co-exists alongside professional policing. While the latter has developed a strong focus on addressing corruption, many of the ideals of community policing are certainly also evident in the Mexican context, notably the aim to address the needs of the citizens. Such close co-existence, of course, could be argued to be the response to different needs in Mexico at a particular point in time.

It was also demonstrated in Chapter 2 that to appreciate the role of trust in community policing one needs to view it not only as a driver but as a recurrent aspect of police-citizen interactions. Of course the building of trust has been a key driver, but it is not a necessary precondition for community policing and, according to the literature, is not the primary driver for its implementation either. However, the role of trust is undoubtedly important during the process of development in relations between police and citizens (see Misztal, 2001) and is also linked to citizen compliance with the law (Nye, 1998). Considering trust in different roles allows for a better understanding of

why its role is much more dynamic and rich at the local level than in national policing. For example, the importance of trust seemed especially significant in Mexico where, despite its ambiguities as a driver, it seemed vital to police and citizen relationships.

Chapter 3 presented the methodology used to conduct this research. It was asserted that no single theoretical perspective could reasonably have a monopoly of authority over the assessment of the effectiveness of community policing in practice. Thus, this study sought to understand community policing from different perspectives within particular social and geographical contexts. With the underlying concern of this thesis being to understand the complexities of community policing rather than seeking to build knowledge in a monolithic way, the chosen design was for a qualitative-comparative approach, using four case studies –in two fundamentally contrasting countries. It also relied mainly on in-depth interviews with a sample of fifty two police and citizens. Additionally, the study was conducted under a social constructivist epistemology to give equal emphasis to the voices of police and citizens and to ensure that each of their views would provide the basis on which understanding of the social reality of community policing could be built.

Case studies were considered most useful for the research questions and to provide the principal units for data gathering and analysis within the overall research design. This reflected the view that understandings about community policing could not easily be measured in terms of raw frequencies or statistical incidence (see Yin, 2009 p. 9-10).

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 presented the main findings in relation to each of the principal research questions in turn. Chapter 4 focused on the questions *how do police and citizens, respectively, understand the purposes and priorities of community policing?* and *How do police and citizens view the role of trust in the context of community policing?* Here it was seen that the police and the citizens conceive community policing in different ways and also attribute different objectives to it. Across the four locations, the differences in conceptions of community policing reflected different social constructions and differing social contexts. Because of such variance in conceptions of community policing, it was not surprising to find ambiguities and differences of viewpoint as to the particular communities to which community policing referred, about the issues that it was expected to address, and about the means by which those issues might be addressed. One clear conclusion, then, was that the idea of a single definition of community policing at the local level would be quite unrealistic.

Indeed, community policing was seen as having multiple purposes and priorities both in Mexico and the UK. Some significant differences were noted between the two countries. In the UK there was a notable focus on both antisocial behaviour and counterterrorism while in Mexico, the key issue was organised crime. However, there were also some similarities, notably with a common focus on strengthening peoples' sense of safety. That said, and given the contrasts in the respective social and policing contexts, it was apparent that, in each country, respondents had different understandings of the notion of safety. In this respect, a key finding was that, while in the UK safety was conceived in two rather different but complementary ways, in Mexico it was conceived in two different but conflicting ways. In the UK some police officers tended to view their role

in relation to improving public safety in terms of crime reduction, while citizens tended to think more in terms of antisocial behaviour. To some extent, this explained why, even when crime had reduced, citizens would not automatically feel safer. In Mexico, the notion of public safety for many citizens had much to do with keeping well away from police officers, yet many police officers were seeking to get closer to them. That said, several other respondents did, indeed, see safety through developing more familiar relationships with police so that they knew with whom they are dealing. These conceptions of safety on the part of citizens were particularly rooted in the concern about collusion between police officers and professionally organised criminals. The comparisons across locations, then, served to identify not only the big differences but also some of the more subtle differences regarding the varied purposes and priorities of community policing.

On the other hand, the analysis of each case also enabled identification of some important links between different priorities. For example, the different understandings in the UK between police and citizens regarding community safety (e.g. crime reduction and social order, respectively) were one of the factors that has allowed legitimisation of the prevention of antisocial behaviour within the policing agenda. As a result, tackling antisocial behaviour has come to be seen as a dominant strategy for improving the sense of public safety in the UK. However, given the lack of consensus over what exactly antisocial behaviour involves, the pursuit of this priority without understanding the different, conflictive needs of the various parties involved can also confuse and exacerbate problems between young people and other older members of the community, or between the police and young people.

Another priority in the UK was counter-terrorism which also required the police to seek an acceptable balance between conflicting expectations. In this regard, some Muslim communities had become a targeted group on the basis of their religion and ethnic roots with concerns about possible links with homelands in which there had been a history of supporting terrorism and providing training in this regard. Although the police were keen to engage with the communities at the local level, to build trust and prevent extremism, at the same time, however, the police were also using more coercive methods in pursuit of anti-terrorist policies, and in doing so, were eroding community confidence and engagement.

Particular attention was given to the role of trust and it was noted that trust is viewed not only as a purpose in community policing in the UK and Mexico but also as a key driver in both countries. According to the interviewees in the UK, trust alludes to a 'new' arrangement between police and citizens regarding police performance, different from the one which assumed that trust would be a consequence of the traditional focus on crime reduction. In Mexico, trust refers more to the desire to 'break up' the linkage between police and corrupt practices. Given the interest of this thesis in the role of trust in community policing from the perspective of police and citizens, the term was explored in different ways. For example, it was identified that some of the notions of trust held by police and citizens in both countries portrayed trust as a rational expectation based on concrete information about the responsibilities and roles of the police. From this perspective, the building of trust is helped by institutional initiatives that better inform the public about the efforts being made to improve police practices

and performance. For example, in the UK, the Policing Pledge is one approach to facilitate adjustments in citizen expectations as to the standards and priorities of policing. In Mexico, one way that was similarly being pursued to build trust involved organisational emphasis on recruiting more customer-minded individuals as candidates for the police and training and professionalising them in key aspects such as respect for human rights, checking them with toxicological tests, and using polygraph tests in order to identify any dishonesty and potential for corruption. Of course such organisational arrangements would never be sufficient by themselves to build trust, and so the police efforts to develop closer relationships with communities at the local level have also become very important – indeed in Mexico those efforts include to tackle people’s fear and resistance towards the police. While in Mexico building trust has much to do with addressing the heavy stigma of the police –who are often seen as part of the criminality– in the UK, it is understood more as ‘a contract of responsibilities’ that aims at clarifying police’s standards, many of which have to do with police’s relationship with the public.

One of the key lessons in Chapter 4 was of the complexity and sensitivity to social and geographical context of conceptions and priorities of community policing. The interplay of heterogeneous communities interacting with the local police in different geographical settings suggests that the goals and priorities that community policing pursues can not be seen merely as objective constructions derived mechanically from police statistics; they are rather more social constructions with different meanings –sometimes conflicting–that are socialised and exchanged and therefore can be shared to various extents by the local actors.

Chapter 5 provided insights on the research question: *to what extent is there alignment in understanding of community policing between citizens and police?* Considering that community policing is widely considered to capitalise on the collaborative relationship between police and citizens, but given the propensity for a wide variety of meanings to be attributed to its goals and priorities, the chapter reviewed the extent to which police and citizens' views aligned with each other in these respects. One of the goals which encapsulated very well the many expectations upon community policing is 'to know citizen's needs'; the police clearly needing to consult citizens rather than just assuming that they already understood their needs. To 'know' citizens' needs was found to be a particularly strong idea among police and citizens in all four locations, and as well as there being a high alignment of views between the two groups, the research identified general optimism about this goal being relatively easy to achieve. However, it was also clear that, in practice, this goal was often the cause of much disparity of views between police and citizens. Between listening to the needs of citizens and actually addressing them, a number of factors tended to interfere and undermine the alignment. Through the interviews conducted in the research, it was made apparent that sometimes the police struggled to meet communities' needs because they were insufficiently aware of what mattered most to citizens. A number of citizens expressed the view that their expectations of community policing had not been satisfied and that they felt the police had misinterpreted their priorities. But the problem was not only that the police and citizens interpreted the issues differently. Some citizens accused the police of being unduly selective in what issues they addressed and what they ignored, often favouring some social groups over others. Indeed, some narratives from the police confirmed such discriminatory behaviour. It was suggested, for example, that the police might be more

likely to respond to middle class citizens or to communities whose socio-economic backgrounds made them feel more empowered in asking for a police response. While this issue applied both in the UK and Mexico, in the latter case, in particular, there were also aggravating factors in that the police were perceived to be exploiting opportunities to enforce the law against disadvantaged young people, specifically to increase their arrest figures and so to appear more efficient in the eyes of the wider public.

Analysis of the alignment of views between police and citizens, and of the respective attribution of meanings, goals and priorities, allowed two key conclusions to be drawn. First, it was noted that the different understandings respectively of police and citizens provided a challenge to the assumed 'solidity', neutrality and democratic basis of agreeing goals in community policing. Even when police and citizens thought they had agreed on the goals and priorities, they might well find in practice that they understood them differently. Second, this lack of alignment of views also challenges the assumption about community policing providing a positive change, and particularly a change that would necessarily refocus police attentions on citizens' priorities. On the other hand, the research interestingly revealed a positive side to the lack of alignment around goals and priorities in that, at least, the process would be likely to surface and highlight different interests and understandings and sharpen the process of local accountability in policing. More than this, it also served to highlight the potentially conflicting expectations and needs of different communities in an area and would challenge the assumption of consensus among and between communities as to what priorities and issues matter most at the neighbourhood level.

A further interesting finding in relation to this issue of alignment was that the perceptions of one party (whether police or citizens) appeared significant in shaping the relationship between the two. For example, some police officers acknowledged operating with a distant or even antagonistic relationships with certain indigenous or ethnic communities not only because they were perceived uncooperative, but also because they were considered to be a cause of concern and complaint for other (wealthier) communities. Negative attitudes towards some such communities were quite openly discussed by police officers whilst, almost simultaneously, the same officers were expressing their general commitment to equality in their dealings with different communities and their demands.

Chapter 5 also reviewed the alignment of views between police and citizens regarding trust. A key finding here was that the meaning of trust for both police and citizens refers basically to the concept 'trust in the police' (as opposed to police trust in citizens). This alignment of views is paradoxical given the assumed reciprocal relationship between police and citizens within the context of community policing. The widespread significance attached to the notion of public confidence in the effectiveness and efficiency of the police (and including trust) speaks very little about trust in two crucial respects as identified in the research: first, the mutual relationship between police and citizens and, second, the active role of citizens (which went well beyond passively judging the performance of the police). Several of the police officers interviewees struggled with the notion of 'their' trust in the citizens and it often seemed clear that they had not previously considered this or its implications for the relationship. Several such officers simply recognised that they lacked trust in residents, particularly those in

socio-economic disadvantaged areas, and acknowledged that they frequently viewed some such citizens as defensive, hostile and uncooperative. Indeed, this was recognized as a self-perpetuating, vicious circle of diminishing trust between police and citizens. Evidently, a key lesson learned is that an asymmetrical notion of trust - mainly understood as trust in the police - is potentially a significant problem for relationships in community policing. As Goldsmith (2005, p. 453) has argued, "in societies disrupted by intra-state conflicts, terrorist incidents and/or high crime levels.... police will have even more cause to be suspicious of apparently ordinary citizens". The message, then, is of the importance of understanding and acknowledging the mutual component of trust in community policing and, particularly for the police, to appreciate better what it is to trust residents.

Another lesson from this part of the research was that, despite an immediately apparent strong alignment of views regarding the conception of community policing, on closer examination, the picture may be rather more complex. Both the police and citizens hold a variety of interpretations which can bring them closer in some cases, but also simultaneously create tensions. This finding may seem very obvious, but it has been very much overlooked to date in research on community policing. Therefore, the practical implications have to do with taking into account the relevance of the inter-subjective and dynamic nature of police-citizen interactions in community policing.

The inter-subjective nature of police-citizen interactions (e.g. the social reality established by the two parties), as well as its dynamism, may be more important than has hitherto been recognised. In some ways, community policing represents a two way

communication channel through which the 'knowledge' behind the police's conventional constructions of 'objective' problem-solving are re-assessed. Police interactions with the public may serve to cast doubt on the adequacy of their knowledge about local problems and solutions (see Hisschemoller and Hoppe, 1995 p.51) and can become a productive process of self-criticism regarding their performance. Police interactions with the public have also moved the police into different forms of understanding of the nature of their relationships with the communities (placing more value on a mutual interaction, mutual understanding, and cooperation). It is this interaction between the two parties that has permitted the potential re-interpretations of the problems, solutions and community-police relations- but this re-interpretation might not only implicate practical modifications, but might imply a more profound change regarding the very nature of knowledge about policing.

The potential change regarding knowledge about policing has to do with addressing the notion of "racism of intelligence" to which Bourdieu (1993) referred when criticising the monopolies in the production of knowledge; community policing may, to some extent, be a channel to redefine the monopolies in the production of knowledge (for example, redefine what is an issue, for whom and why). More concretely, relevant knowledge about policing is constructed at the local level in an inter-subjective way and according to the changing contexts where police-citizen interactions take place. In the same way that police should not dismiss the views of the citizens about their needs and other issues (as their aim is to conduct policing more efficiently and effectively), scholars in the field of policing should give more consideration to the conceptions of both police and citizens about community policing when theorising about it and about

policing in general. In particular, the very act of considering the heterogeneity of views and conceptions of both police and citizens about community policing can aid wider reflection about assumptions associated with the building of social theory, such as establishing predictions vis a vis considering complex interconnections among factors (see Flyvbjerg, 2006). In sum, Chapter 5 highlights the importance of taking seriously the different understandings which underpin conceptions of, and priorities in community policing.

Chapter 6 provided insights on the research question *how do police and citizens regard the impacts of community policing?* It was assumed crucial to have evidence that community policing works, particularly because of the heavy expectations of it from a public accountability viewpoint. However, the research revealed little awareness of an evidence base in this respect either on the part of police or citizens.

The review of literature had showed community policing to have modest impacts on community level crime, though more significant impacts on the quality of interactions between the police and the public (see for example, Greene, 2000). However, the analysis presented in this chapter followed a different approach to assessing the contribution of community policing – this involving focus on the various ways in which the police and citizens themselves constructed success. Here, for sure, there were some conventional examples of success that related to the (mostly good) performance of the police in terms of encouraging citizens to overcome fears of reporting crime (both in the UK and in Mexico). However, in addition, a range of other ‘successes’ mentioned by

police and citizens invited reflection on the possibility of a wider set of perspectives on this subject – and mostly very practical.

Some such perspectives might perhaps, at first sight, seem quite modest, perhaps even trivial, in nature. However, in their own terms, and from a social constructivist perspective, they were all quite as valid for those who cited them and therefore to be taken seriously. There was, for example, a Mexican case which referred to the importance for the police of feeling respected by the citizens. The way in which this ‘success’ was constructed by the interviewee highlighted just what a lack of respect could mean for a police officer in terms of job dissatisfaction and feelings of alienation from society. Moreover, because this example came from a high crime neighbourhood, where the police-resident relationships tended to be difficult, the impact of the perceived ‘success’ (of the sense of respect) was all the greater. Similarly, in a UK example, a ‘success’ for some citizens that was highlighted was of having an ‘unarmed’ police force. The context and the way in which this ‘success’ was discussed also highlighted an important feature of community policing within an international context. In this sense, British policing was felt to be remarkable not only because it had remained mostly ‘unarmed’, unlike most other forces around the world, but also because the image it created served to reinforce the idea of ‘peaceful’ police-citizen interactions (in some contrast with the image of fatal shootings and associated fear and distrust in many other countries). The ‘success’ here also reinforced the notion of ‘policing by consent’, and of its democratic control, rather than the police having unchecked coercive control over the citizenry (see for example, Cooper 1984, p. 143; Waddington, 1999 p. 156).

Several other examples of ‘successes’ also served to suggest a de-escalation of conflicts between police and citizens. Such was the case in Mexico where cultural activities in a neighbourhood were considered successful not only because they were seen as helping to prevent crime in the area, but also because they allowed the police to build a friendlier image in the eyes of the community. Likewise, in the UK, the youth projects aimed at addressing antisocial behaviour were perceived as resolving the potential conflicts between police and young people in a democratic and friendlier way, and also those between young people and older members of the community.

One of the most important conclusions from Chapter 6 was that a focus on the qualitative aspects *of* police and citizen viewpoints can unravel what more hard-edged, quantitative or crime-fighting notions of success tend to overlook. As several police officers in the UK readily acknowledged, citizens might not necessarily notice, or be impressed by, what police usually consider to be the ‘big’ achievements, notably crime reduction. But through the commitment to community policing, they increasingly come to appreciate the value of aligning their own views of success with those of citizens. Another key conclusion from Chapter 6 was that the views of the police and citizens also suggested *why* and *where* particular events are seen as successes of community policing and this is important in identifying the different interests of different parties. Not only that, it was seen that community policing can have a range of positive impacts which are unlikely to be captured using the usual quantitative indicators.

7.1. SUMMATION

In sum, the insights provided through this thesis point to a number of substantive conclusions: first, the need to develop a nuanced, non-simple view about the relationship between the police, the community, the context and the impact of community policing. This should encourage practitioners, policy makers and researchers to re-examine the assumptions of what might constitute good practice in policing, what success might look like, who determines it, and why and where it is regarded as such. In turn, this may have to do with epistemological assumptions of what constitutes relevant knowledge in policing, who can hold that knowledge and how this knowledge is qualified and constructed.

Second, and to an extent related, is the conclusion that the social constructions that police and citizens hold about community policing may be seen as a source of knowledge which is both robust and sensitive to the empirical context. Moreover, it should come as no surprise that such social constructions might go against more conventional understandings in policing: those of a more positivist perspective and which typically seek to offer cause-effect explanations and predictions. It has been argued that such understandings can tend to leave the impression of an epistemology which undermines conventional views among the policing profession. However, in avoiding presumptions about coherent and uniform directives (see Lindgren, 2005 p.4), the multiple constructions of community policing it offers can provide a powerful illustration of the complexity of social reality.

The stance of this thesis was to examine the complex social reality of community policing in different locations with the assumption that one of the most important objectives in social science is the development of sophisticated knowledge rather than attractive generalisations or ‘certainties’ (see Guba, 1990 p. 26). This reflects the extraordinarily complex context within which to study community policing - a context which is inevitably characterised by degrees of grey rather than black or white.

7.2. KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

The notion of recommendations is often viewed as inappropriately reducing the difficulty associated with choosing between options and simplifying aids upon a problem (Fitzsimons and Lehmann, 2004; Shugan, 1980). This thesis has shown that complexity is an unavoidable part of the social reality. Accordingly, the recommendations made here are not aimed to be clear cut or prescriptive but simply to offer general guidance based on the key findings.

The recommendations that are made are of two types: general and specific to each police force. One general recommendation for all police forces would be to make more evident to citizens the bilateral character of trust. As indicated, there is a tendency to conceive trust in an asymmetrical way, meaning that trust is more understood as ‘trust in the police’ rather than as a bilateral component of police-citizen relationships. Thus, a step forward that is suggested is for the police to discuss with citizens the active role that they can play in building trust between the two parties, as well as discussing with

them what is entailed for them in trusting residents. In accordance with the considerable interest in public trust, and in particular, acknowledging the multipurpose aspect of trust for the achievement of other goals and priorities in community policing, it is important to reflect on why the notion of trust in this context might be understood only as trust in the police and the implications for this for the functioning of community policing. Such reflection can help clarify expectations and act as a basis for improvement in police-citizen relationships.

Regarding Mexico, it is important to say that, at no time in its history, has there been a greater need for building efficiency, efficacy, legitimacy and trust in the police. Exactly how such objectives are going to be achieved is a matter for debate. But one of the most relevant factors to consider, as illuminated in the thesis, is the militarisation of public security in Mexico and its implications. One of those implications is that, in a context where the military play such a pivotal role in public security, and where police forces are increasingly working with military personnel, there is the danger of reinforcing a mentality among the police that the task of fighting crime is one that can largely be done without input from the citizens. As argued in this thesis, the presumption that the main function of policing is to fight crime – and by the police alone – is surely a flawed endeavour. If, as many police officers argued, a key priority for them is to gain the acceptance, cooperation, legitimacy and trust of citizens, then the recommendation has to be to work with the citizens rather than around them, still less coercively against them. If, as many police officers also argued, another key priority is to address the increasing sense of insecurity among citizens, the same recommendation applies.

Community policing has been adopted in some Mexican police forces aiming at strengthening the weak collaborative relationships between the police and citizens. However, as Inness (2005) argues, there is a tendency for the police to assume that they must choose between community policing and a more coercive form of policing, particularly in response to serious and organised crime, rather than seeing the two as mutually supportive of one another. A general recommendation, therefore, is fully to establish community policing in all the federative entities of Mexico as the Federal Government has indeed already proposed (see for example, SSP 2008), learning from the experience of states which have already led the way in this respect. As discussed in the thesis, the implementation and operation of community policing is not a simple, nor necessarily sequential, process; nor indeed one from which positive results should immediately be expected. It will usually require time and resourcefulness before the dividends become clearly apparent. There is also the need to train police officers carefully in this approach, bearing in mind that cultural acceptance of the model by police personnel is likely to be key to its operation. At the same time, police and citizens at local level must both have a voice in shaping what community policing will mean in their particular area, establishing what they wish to expect from it and how its impact will be understood and assessed. The assessment of the impact of community policing should also consider carefully what data will need to be collected and in what form. Surveys are one commonly used method for collecting the views of citizens, but they may not be able to reflect the appropriate complexity of information or a sophisticated picture; using surveys alone, for example, is unlikely to identify all the conflicts and implications of different views and could erode the aim of being responsive to citizens (see Marenin, 1989). Thus it is important that the philosophy and

practice of community policing should reinforce one another. As illustrated in this thesis, seeing the police simply as the crime fighters is likely to perpetuate some inefficiencies and public dissatisfaction. At the same time, police cannot be expected to play a wider role if they are not given the opportunities to engage with citizens in a non-coercive way.

There are key concrete recommendations for each of the police forces in Mexico that were studied. In respect of the Federal District it is important to say that, while there are on-going efforts there to get closer to the citizens, the rapid population growth in this area makes it very hard to develop familiar relationships between police and citizens. One of the strengths is that the police in the Federal District have adopted community policing since the early 2000s and so it is already embedded as a philosophy throughout the police force. However, there is of course, much more to do in terms of getting involved with particular communities, especially with those in more high crime and disadvantaged areas and, where there is more fear of being mistreated and discriminated by the police. More strategic and tailored efforts need to be developed with these communities to address detachment and alienation between police and citizens, and to develop mutual trust between them. This recommendation is much in line with recent proposals made by the Human Rights Commission of the Federal District (see CDHDF, 2009a).

In the State of Mexico, as we saw, community policing has been organised in the form of a separate unit within the police force and focuses mainly on the school communities and their issues in and nearby schools. Capitalising on such communities to prevent crime, developing closer relationships and developing trust to encourage the reporting

of crime are clear strengths. However, as discussed previously, other communities lacking association with the schools may be being ignored (including groups at risk of becoming victims of crime such as girls, boys and young people who do not attend school), as indeed may be the case with other issues that are not reflected in the agendas of school communities. More importantly, while school communities are the focus of the community policing efforts here, there is a risk of discrimination underlying those efforts; as perhaps indicated in the tendency of some police officers to see deprived communities (where the schools are located) as being especially responsible for the violent crime. Therefore, strengthening training and education about the multiple sources of crime is a priority for police officers here, as is the development of strategic and tailored efforts to build relations with other communities in the high crime or socially deprived areas.

In respect of the UK case study areas, and placing the evidence collected into a wider context, it was seen in Chapter 6 that there were possible deficiencies or gaps regarding the prevention of extremism. None of the police officers interviewed in the UK alluded to concrete successes regarding a positive, trustful engagement with Muslim communities (e.g. non-coercive or suspicious engagement). If, as several interviewees claimed, community policing is part of the strategy to prevent extremism, more engagement with those communities is needed. This recommendation applies more particularly in the West Midlands Police which is responsible for a metropolitan area that is a magnet for many in-migrating Muslim people (see Pew Research Center, 2011).

As the practice of community policing in the UK is influenced very much by the notion of policing by consent, community consultation over the meaning and purposes of policing is crucial to its success. This is one of the greatest strengths for community policing in the UK and can balance any pressure towards more coercive approaches. However, one recommendation here is that the priorities in crime prevention, and the potentially positive impacts of a closer Muslim-police relationship, need to be recognised and acted upon at the local level. As Murray (2005 p. 348) has argued, if one considers that the police depend on community support to control and prevent crime, “the same principles clearly apply to the prevention of terrorist acts”.

One of the problems observed in the UK is that the notion of community is heterogeneous in nature yet tends to be used mostly to refer to communities that share a particular geographical location or social identities, while other communities are overlooked. Such may be the case of minority communities, and communities residing in socio-economically deprived areas. In this sense, a concrete recommendation particularly for West Mercia Police, is to develop stronger and clearer strategies to foster closer relationships with minority or ethnic groups. It may also be necessary to strengthen awareness among the police of some of the questionable assumptions that can underlay dominant perspectives around crime - a recommendation which probably applies equally in many other police forces with similarly less social and cultural diversity. As discussed in this study in Chapter 4, sometimes minority ethnic communities trigger suspicions on the part of police officers which, though usually unwarranted, can become dominant in perceptions about crime and about which the

communities concerned are likely to be powerless to influence (see Spalek, 2008; Millie 2006; Stenson and Watt, 1999).

7.3. REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

Looking back on the work undertaken for this thesis, three key reflections dominate the author's thinking. The first is at the epistemological level, the second at the research design level and the third at the data collection level.

With regard to the first, within the social sciences debates are on-going over the bases of our knowledge and how to build it. This is important not only in relation to different epistemological positions, but also within theoretical frameworks, in this case in social constructivism. One of the main premises of social constructivism is that knowledge can have neither a stable nor an absolute character (Montero, 2002). Taking this premise into the wider context of different epistemologies, social constructivism seems imbued with uncertainty and, as has been acknowledged before, this could be its biggest disadvantage, especially if in pursuit of solid knowledge. In other words, criticisms may point to the limited capacity of the approach to contribute empirically and theoretically to building knowledge, explanation and prediction about community policing.

As to the second reflection, this investigation has followed a comparative approach based on four cases. The case studies were analysed one by one, but still a part of the detailed information relative to the geographical context perhaps did not receive enough attention, particularly when these detailed information contributed little for the

comparative-contrasting approach. Also, given the purpose of this investigation to focus on what was important to the police and citizens in their conceptions of community policing, many topics were covered but all inevitably, with limited depth.

Then, regarding the third reflection - to do with methods of data collection - while the interviews served to collect much valuable data in a systematic way and across four locations, they represented quite a blunt and intrusive approach to finding out views of police and citizens on community policing. Although much of the data required was about the subtleties and subjectivities of perceptions, inevitably, the format and discipline of specific questions risked over-structuring the process and probably resulted in the exclusion of as much relevant material as it included. Indeed, of course, the interviews only gathered those experiences and perspectives that the respondents happened at the time to recall and were able to verbalise.

7.4. FUTURE RESEARCH AND LOOKING AHEAD

Finally, what of the gaps left from this research and the possible further steps for study? There was certainly a notable gap in the academic field about how to build trust in adverse contexts, where community police officers are particularly distrusted by the communities (for example by minority groups or socio-economic disadvantaged groups) in Mexico and the UK, and where those communities are also distrusted by police officers. Some of the cases of success in this thesis demonstrated that it is possible to build trust through a concerted process of police-community engagement. However, the specific issues and actions that need to be considered to convert distrust into trust are

not yet sufficiently clear. Likewise, there continues to be a significant gap in knowledge about how to address communities' fear of the police which seems particularly relevant in the Mexican context. Further research could usefully focus on these issues (e.g. processes of converting distrust into trust and how to address communities' fear of the police) and build better understanding.

Indeed, there is paucity of research about knowledge of community policing in Mexico more generally. This is, in part, because it is a relatively 'new' approach in policing within that country, so there are undoubtedly opportunities to learn much more about its operation and impacts and to examine its roll-out in more of the thirty two federative entities, as seems likely over the next few years.

As to the impacts of community policing, it is undoubtedly the case that further research on the views of police and citizens will help raise understanding of the role and potential of community policing in addressing different policing and community issues. While it may be fruitless to expect definitive evidence that community policing 'works', providing that we accept that it is necessarily a multi-faceted concept, that needs tailoring to each and every situation, we might reasonably conclude that community policing has a sound future – just as long as the approach continues to be based on principles of reflection, learning and further development.

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ANNEX 1

GUIDE OF QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEW

1. Could you describe the area or neighbourhood in which you do your policing? For example, would you say it has low, medium or high levels of crime? What kinds of crimes are most common?
2. What model or approach to policing is operated here?
3. In a few sentences, how would you best describe the notion of community policing (or respective name given)?
4. What would you regard as the most important words and ideas underlying the concept of community policing (or respective name given)?
5. What do you regard as the main objectives or priorities in community policing?
6. What do you regard as the main objectives or priorities in community policing in your area?
7. What would you say have been among the most notable success of implementing community policing (in this area)? Could you give me concrete examples?

8. What would you say have been among the most notable failures of implementing community policing (in this area)? Could you give me concrete examples?
9. Do you think that trust between citizens and the police has been affected by community policing? Could you give some examples?
10. In few words or sentences, how would you define the concept of trust in community policing?
11. In few words or sentences, how would you define the concept of trust in the police?
12. How would you define trust in residents?
13. What do you consider to be the role of 'trust' between police and citizens in the context of community policing?
14. Can you give me some examples of where interaction between police and people was disadvantaged by a lack of trust?
15. To what extent would you say that trust between police and local citizens is a prerequisite for addressing the local needs?

16. Considering that the context is different in each neighbourhood, could you tell me which particular aspects you consider the most important in developing community policing so it can achieve its aims?

17. To what extent do you expect residents to provide useful information so that police can achieve their aims? (question for police officers)

18. To what extent do you expect residents to share the same priorities of the police?
For example in terms of reducing crime in this area? (question for police officers) /
To what extent do you expect police to share your priorities? (question for citizens)

19. Which would be the main challenges for a trustful relationship between police and residents in this area?

20. How would you say that trust is built between residents and police officers at the neighbourhood level?